

ABORIGINAL TRIBES

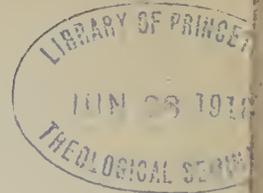
OF THE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

(A FRAGMENT.)

By THE

LATE REV. JOHN WILSON, D.D.



Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE  
GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

1876.

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*NOTE.*

The following fragment on the aboriginal tribes of Western India is all of his promised contribution to the *Bombay Gazetteer* which the late Dr. Wilson lived to complete.



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I need scarcely say that in speaking of "Aboriginal Tribes" I use the word *aboriginal* in a popular, and not in a strictly correct sense. I apply it to certain tribes of Western India merely because they have claims to prior residence in this country, superior to those of the tribes which are now their neighbours, or their masters. Though some of them denominate themselves *Talabdá*, that is, in Sanskrit, *Sthalodbhava*, "the offspring of the locality," thus urging claims similar to those of the *autochthones* of the Greeks, both their physiognomy and their languages show that they are the descendants of the Turanian or Scythian immigrations into this country, most of which took place before the immigration of the A'ryas. Their congenital and cognate races we discover in other parts of the world in which the Scythian and Tartar languages are spoken, and even among the tribes now found on the borders of the Baltic and in Hungary.

I have found but little in the ancient writings of the Hindus calculated to throw light on the Aboriginal Tribes of Western India. The Védas, composed originally on the banks of the five rivers of the Panjáb, take no notice whatever either of the southern portions of India or of their inhabitants, though occasionally they speak of the enemies of the A'ryas in the north as in colour and character not very different from those of the tribes now in the south which we denominate aboriginal. The Bráhmaṇas, or directories for conducting the Brahma ceremony, mention the Shúdras, a subjected race, who were originally found on the banks of the Indus, and whose name, by analogy, was afterwards given to other subjected races of like status in the Hindu community as regulated by artificial law, on the same principle that the European nations have given the name of "Indians" to the aboriginal inhabitants of North and South America. The oldest epic poem of the Hindus, the Rámáyana or Progress of Ráma, ideally viewed as toward the south, is so completely mythical, that it speaks of the forest tribes nearest the A'ryas merely as *Nishádas* ["original] settlers," and represents the leaders of these tribes, Hanumán and Sugriva and their hordes of wild followers, as a race of monkeys, fighting with them against the Rákshasas, proximate human enemies of the A'ryas in the times of the Védas, but now imagined to be a sort of monstrous hybrids between men and devils, dwelling in the far south. The Vishnu Purána and the Mahábháratá, the second great epic of the Hindus, though they incidentally contain a good deal of geographical information, give us nothing but the names of some of the southern tribes (some of which are curious enough) except when they allude to them in general, under the designations of *Nishádas* and *Mléchchas* dwelling in the Vindhya range, and the reputed descendants of the wicked Véna, and speaking of the *Nisháda* as having a party like the Bhilla for his type, (though not so called) "deformed, dwarf sh, of a fire-red colour, with red [furi-

ous?] eyes, and black hair." In the Hindu Law-book fictionally attributed to Manu, of the southern nations only those of the *Odra* and the *Dravida*, both on the east of the Peninsula, and of the *Avantya* (Ujjayiní) and *Sátvata* (Sátputa) are mentioned. The *Bhillas* and other mountain tribes are represented as doing obeisance to Buddha on the Cave-temples of Kárlá, Kanherí, and Ajantá. Their locality, near Avanta, is mentioned in the Gupta inscription on the rock-tablets of Girnár in Káthiawád. The modern Puráṇas give us no precise information concerning any of the tribes whom we now have in our eye. Even in the matter of mere names in their case, we have great difficulty of identification, as most of the Aboriginal Tribes, as will immediately appear, are not now known by any patronymic name.

The Aboriginal Tribes of Western India belong, I am persuaded, to several great Scythian immigrations—the earlier and the later—the earlier being originally connected with what are now known as the Depressed Tribes and the *Dravidians*; or Southerners, and the later ones with what I shall call the *Uttaráshtrians*, or Northerners. They are merely the remains of these tribes not yet subjected, or but partially subjected, to Bráhmanism. They are found in four positions or conditions with reference to the Hindu population in general. They exist either in a state of comparative independence of that population; of partial interminglement with it, or limited isolation from it; of utter depression by it; and of restless wandering throughout the different provinces of the country.

#### I.—THE INDEPENDENT ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

##### *The Bhillas.*

The most important of the independent Aboriginal Tribes are undoubtedly the *Bhillas*. They are the principal, and often the only human, inhabitants of the forests stretching between Rajputáná and Khándesh. The word *Bhilla* applied to one of the classes said to form the *Antyaja* ("born at the end") according to the caste system, occurs at the beginning of the small law-book ascribed to the sage Yama, but it has no etymological meaning in Sanskrit. As I have pointed out (in a paper inserted in the first No. of the Journal of the Antiquarian Society of the Central Provinces) the *Bhillas* are called *Billaru* (or bowmen) in Telugu. I have little doubt that it is from the Scythian or Dravidian word *billu*, 'a bow,' that they have derived their denomination. Yama, in the passage above referred to, couples the *Bhilla* with the *Rajaka* (washerman), *Charmakára* (dresser-of-skins), *Naṭa* (dancer), *Buruda* (bambu-splitter or basket-maker), and *Kaivartta* (fisherman or boatman), and *Médu*, as constituting together the seven *Antyaja*; but this is obviously intended to degrade them and other similar independent tribes. In some of the caste lists they have a higher position.

They are mentioned under the name of *Phylls* (*Phyllitæ*) by Ptolemy,\* the Greek Geographer of the second century, as first noticed by Colonel Wilford, and as admitted by Professor Lassen; and it is thus with good reason that they view themselves as an ancient people who have been long distinct from their neighbours. "There is every reason to believe," says Sir John Malcolm (whose account of them is in some respects perhaps the best which has yet been published), "that the original race of Bhills may claim a high antiquity, and

\* *Vide* Ptolemy's Geography, Cap. VII.

that they were once masters of many of the fertile plains of India, instead of being confined as they now are to the rugged mountains and almost impenetrable jungles. There are authentic records of the Rajput sovereigns of Jaudhpura and Udayapura having subdued large tracts from the *Bhills*; and the tribes now under the Rajput Princes of Dongarpura, and Bānswāra may be termed recent conquests from the same tribe." The same may be said of all the Rajput territories in the woody and hilly tract which separates Málwā from Gujarát, and the latter province from Mewār. But it is in that wild and uncultivated country which stretches along the left bank of the Narmadá, from the plains of Mewār to those of Gujarát, and the Sátpuđá and Ajantá ranges, and among the hills of Bāgláná in Khándesh, where the race have been least disturbed, that we may expect their usages to be most distinct from those of other classes.

The Bhillas are probably more familiar by name to Europeans than any of the other classes of the Aborigines of India. They have numerous divisions or clans, the number in our own Khándesh districts being no fewer than fourteen; but however diverse they may appear to be in their confederations they are still united to a great extent by a common sympathy, regard, and fellowship. According to the provinces in which they reside, they speak the Maráthí, Gujarátí, Rángađí, Méwađí, Narmadí, and even Rajputáná languages, which are all cognate with one another. They use a good many Scythian words along with Prakrit words of a Sanskrit origin; but though they have a goodly number of words peculiar to themselves, they have none, so far as I have noticed, which indicate anything but the most remote connexion with the southern tribes of India. They must be consequently held to belong to some later Scythian immigration, the parties forming which were not so far removed from the A'ryas as those who preceded them. When fresh from among them in the first instance, I wrote of their personal appearance as follows:—"They are dark-coloured, small-bodied, and active and expert in their movements. They have prominent cheek-bones and straight noses; and from living much on roots and the coarsest grains, they are much exposed to abdominal tamour." "The true race of Bhill," says Captain James Rose, in an able memoir in the Bombay Selections, "is easily distinguished by the dark colour, diminutive size, prominent cheek-bones, large nostrils, activity, power of enduring fatigue, and rare qualifications for the chase of those who belong to it." "The inferiority of their stature," he adds, "is probably caused by hard and scanty fare; for among those in tolerably comfortable circumstances it is not so observable, and the peculiarity disappears altogether in youths brought up in the Bhill Corps from their enjoying better food and greater comfort." The peculiarity in their appearance, as distinguished from that of the common Hindu population, I am persuaded, is in a good degree to be ascribed to their position and circumstances as foresters and mountainers, and to their food and occupations. In this opinion I am borne out by the late Captain Douglas Graham, who, in his most interesting paper, also in the Bombay Selections, says: "The [Bhillas] natives of the plain, in appearance, are scarcely to be distinguished from the other classes of society, though exposure, fatigue, and poverty have left their accustomed marks in the diminutive figure and the deep-lined countenance of the hardy denizen of the hill." Though as a body isolated for many ages from the people by whom they are surrounded, and though bearing marks of this isolation, I do not think that that it has been established that their origin in India is distinct

from that of the common cultivators, or at any rate of the degraded classes of the Dakhan. Though of old they were much dreaded for their thefts and deprivations, the *sparsha*, or touch of them, was not held to lead to the ceremonial defilement of these cultivators, as the touch of some other tribes about to be mentioned.

Most of the Bhillas now profess to be followers of Hinduism. They are this, however, only in a partial degree. The elements of the Turanian worship are still predominant among them—in the worship of devils and malevolent deities by bloody sacrifices; in the homage which they render to the lord of tigers and other beasts of prey; and in their religious commemoration of their deceased ancestors, in whose memory they form figures of horses, on which they may ride, plant a stake of wood in the ground, or erect a pile of stones like the American Indians. Of their religion, as well as that of other tribes in similar circumstances, it may be said that it is a simple system of superstition, resting as much on the natural and suggestive fears of the human mind as on traditions which are handed down from sire to son, alike without the embellishments of song, or the precision of the established chronicle or exciting romance. Their imagination fills their gloomy forests with malevolent spirits, human, superhuman, and infrahuman, and particularly the ghosts of their own ancestors, and of the divers beasts of prey which were their quondam companions. Their worship is principally a deprecation of evil, conducted by bloody sacrifices and peace-offerings to the beings, seen and unseen, from whom they apprehend injury. When they rise above this devotion, it is principally to take cognizance of the multifarious powers which they suppose direct and control the various objects of nature and occurrences of providence and occupations of savage life with which they are most familiar. The Brahmans are but partially used by them as priests. The rites and festivals of Hinduism which they most regard are those which are supposed to have been not of Brahmanic origin. *Mátá*, “the mother,” is with them a female deity of great malevolence. They either bury their dead, or cover them with piles of stones when graves cannot be prepared, and slaughter the cow, though from necessity they are but sparing in the use of animal food. They are everywhere immoderately fond of spirits, in dealing with which they (men, women, and children) seem to have no control over themselves. The most savage of their clans, more immediately connected

The Nahals.

with our own provinces, are the *Nahals*, in the mountains to the north-east of Khandesh, who still subsist principally on roots and fruits, and who are said by Captain Douglas Graham to have no religious or social rites of any kind, not even those connected with marriage. Similar in some respects to them are the *Dángis*, the Bhillas of the Dáng.

The Dángis.

In the reign of Aurangzib, the Musalman power was frequently exerted to suppress the depredation of the Bhillas against the industrious cultivators near to the hills. Many of the Bhillas, in consequence, suffered much; and some of them were compelled to embrace the Muhammadan faith, to which their descendants, under the name of *Bhillálas*, still adhere. During the struggle of the Maráthas with the Muhammadans the mischief caused by the Bhillas proceeded to a great height. The most cruel measures were resorted to for

Treatment by the Maráthas.

the suppression of that mischief by the Maráthas when they got confirmed in power. Those practised by the last Bájí Ráo, after the death of his celebrated minister

Náná Farnavis, were of the most atrocious character. I dare scarcely trust myself to characterize the facts which I have learned on this subject. Some of them are thus mentioned by the lamented Captain Douglas Graham : " If unable to pay to the corrupt officer a large sum of money, the Mámlatdár could, without reference, put a Bhill to death ; and any of the persecuted race caught in a disturbed part of the country were flogged and and forthwith hanged on the score of notoriety. If order was thus restored for the time, the authorities heeded not that a hundred innocent men suffered the extreme penalty, and the Maráthá system of torture being freely applied to extort information, the wretched Bhill who had been flogged and exposed in the naked sun, after having his nose split and his ears stripped from his head, generally closed his miserable career on the heated gun, or in the embraces of the red-hot iron chair." To all this, fraud and deception, under the promise of protection to parties surrendering themselves, were frequently added. " From a high precipitous rock adjoining the fort of Antur, hundreds of this guilty, though unfortunate, race were annually hurled to destruction over the perpendicular scarp ; and the towns of Dharaingáum, Chálistgáum, and Kopargáum will long exist in the memory of the tribe as the sites of the most fearful scenes of indiscriminate slaughter, where large bodies, assembling under the full pardon of Government, were beheaded or blown from guns ; where the women were mutilated or burnt in wells ; and where the little children were dashed to death against the stones." The atrocious treacheries and horrible cruelties of Cawnpore were not first learnt and practised in this country in the year 1857. Báji Ráo was worthy of his adopted son Dhondupant (the *Náná*, the " little darling "), and Dhondupant was worthy of Báji Ráo. It was to the credit of the Konkan Bráhmans, the fellow-caste men of the Náná, that during the mutiny they withheld from him their sympathy.

Ever since the occupation of Khandesh by the British in 1818, and  
 Treatment by the British. after an unsuccessful trial of the sword to punish those who were addicted to deprecation, most conciliatory and philanthropic measures have been pursued towards the Bhillas, and that with great, nay, almost incredible, success. Peace has had her victories amongst them " no less renowned than war." Under the administration and executive arrangements of Colonel Robertson, Major Ovans, and particularly Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-General) Outram, and their likeminded successors, the Bhillas of that province have been restored to order, formed into a police corps for its preservation, established in a great measure in industrial pursuits, and elevated in their social condition. The conciliatory policy followed in regard to these interesting but long oppressed tribes will form a bright chapter in Indian history, whenever it may be written. I am not afraid of the work of the civilization of the Bhillas being permanently injured under the Bombay Government by the hostile movements in 1858 on the part of one or two of their leaders. These movements originated in misunderstandings, and they were soon terminated. The forests are being thinned by their own hatchets. New industrious pursuits await the Bhillas. The plough is taking the place of their bill-hook. Roads are penetrating some of their wild haunts. To a certain extent there has already been heard in their wildernesses the voice of one crying, " Prepare ye the way of the Lord." The school is being established among them. The Christian missions are, in various directions, approaching their territories.

*The Náyakadas.*

Intimately connected with the Bhillas are the *Náyakadas*, or *Naikras*, as they are called by Europeans, of the Chámpanér, Báriá, and Chotta Udépur jungles, east of Baroda. They are, I conceive, only Bhillas, somewhat in a state of isolation from the main tribes, and receiving their present designation from their leaders, who are denominated *Náyakas*. Their isolation, I have little doubt, was first caused by the establishment of the Muhammadan power at Chámpaner, under Muhammad Begada, towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the progress in the neighbouring districts, after its decay, of certain minor Rajput chiefs, as those represented by the Rájás of Chota Udépur and Rájpiplá. Major Wallace speaks of them as "a class of Bhills of peculiar savage and predatory habits." "Their numbers," he adds, "are not great, but as they inhabit generally the most remote and impervious jungles, it is not easy to form an approximate estimate of them." Captain Macdonald speaks of them as "exceeding even the Bhillas in their predatory and lawless habits, cruelty and blood-thirstiness." Mr. Malet speaks of "constant superintendence of them being necessary." They are great objects of terror to the more peaceable natives in their neighbourhood, and of annoyance to the tributaries of the Gáikawár, the political superintendence of which is now administered under our own Réwa Kántá Agency. Much has been done by Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Malet, and others for their conciliation and quietude. The country in which they dwell is naturally remarkably fertile; and when travelling through it, in 1840, my companion, Dr. M. Mitchell, and myself were not without the "pillared shade" of

"Lofty trees, to ancient song unknown,  
The noble sons of potent heat and floods  
Prone rushing from the clouds.

The following is a summary of my notes on their social and religious state:—

The Bráhmans have no authority and no employment amongst the *Náyakas*. The priest of each family is generally its parent or eldest son. In sixty names of their males recorded by me on one occasion, I found only one peculiarly Hindu. The greatest aversion was always manifested by them to mention the names of their females. The principal objects of their worship are *Wághéshwara*, the lord of tigers, and *Mátá*, "the mother," a female deity of malevolent propensities, ever ready to destroy those who refuse to do her honour by satiating her appetite with the blood of goats and fowls; but they have also much to do with the ghosts of their ancestors and remarkable men, to whom they present offerings of such things as were agreeable to them during life, like the Shánárs of the south of India, who present to a deceased European Captain, who excited their wonderment, offerings of ardent spirits and cheroots. Persons supposed to be possessed of a familiar spirit are abundant in their tribe, and great is the mischief which they are supposed to work in man and beast. The power of exorcism, alleged to be held by others, is that only which is supposed to be effectual for the restraint of incorporated devils. Girls are a marketable article with them; and, from twelve years of age and upwards, they are purchaseable at sums varying from ten to sixteen rupees, by the parents of those to whom they are to be espoused. At marriages the women sing and the men beat the drum, noise being the great desideratum on such occasions. Polygamy is practised among them to a very considerable extent, the ability of procuring and supporting wives

being the only limit to the number retained. Names are given, by the women, to children about the third day after birth, and that without any particular ceremony. Much labour, beyond that of the family, is imposed upon the women, hunting and fighting, when deemed expedient, being the only monopolies of the male sex. They are by no means particular as to their food, and their stomachs reject few of the animals which they can lay hold of. The cow, so sacred in the eyes of the Hindus, they eat without any scruple. Intoxicating liquors, and especially the spirit distilled from the flower of the *Mavadá*, which grows to a great height in their jungles, and is easily prepared, are used by them in great abundance. Of education they are entirely destitute, with the exception of one or two of their headmen, who have been taught simply to read. Their mark for signature on paper is a rude figure of a bow, that of the cultivators of the west of India being a ploughshare. The existence of a future state they admit. Departed spirits are viewed by them as more or less happy or miserable near their former habitations. Of a Supreme God they have but very slight and faint notions. In addressing them and explaining to them the precepts of morality, I observed an evident response of their consciences. An outline of the story of the great incarnation they listened to with perhaps greater intelligence and feeling than could have been expected.

It is much to be regretted that our own Government cannot deal with them as with its own subjects. I believe that, had it not been for its merciful interference in their behalf, they would by this time have been nearly exterminated by the Native Chiefs who exercise authority in their neighbourhood.

#### *The Gondas.*

The *Gondas* in their social position resemble the Bhillas. Their language, however, is decidedly Dravidian, and closely approximates to the Telugu when its purity is not interfered with by infusions of Hindí and Maráthí. Their denomination, I think, has been given to them by what I believe to have been their original occupation in India, that of *Govindas*, or "cowherdsmen."\* In conversing with *Gondas* I have found them not averse to this theory of the source of their denomination, which I have stated in a paper above referred to, in the Journal of the Antiquarian Society of the Central Provinces. The *Gondas* are mentioned in some of the Pauránik and caste lists. They are to be found in the Bombay Presidency only in small numbers, in some of the forests and hills of the Narmadá as it enters the Bombay territories from the Central Provinces, to which the description of them properly belongs. [See the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces.]

## II.—THE INTERMINGLED AND ISOLATED ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

### *The Kulís or Kolís.*

Next to the Bhillas, the Kulís or Kolís are worthy of notice as an aboriginal people. They are not so independent as the Bhillas, being intermingled in most districts with the Hindu cultivators. Their name is not a patronymic, for it is derived from *Kula*, a clan,

\* The corruption of the word *Govinda*, from early times, in use in the sense here indicated, is well-known. In popular speech it becomes *Goinda*, and then *Gonda*, as I have very distinctly heard it pronounced even in the jungles of the Northern Konkan, where no individuals of the tribe of *Gondas* are to be found.

and simply means "clansmen." They do not, I am persuaded, differ from the Bhillas in race. They are the aborigines of the plains and comparatively open country, while the Bhillas are the aborigines of the mountains and forests. Neither do they differ in race from the *Kulambís* or *Kunbís*, the regular cultivators of the west of India. Their principal difference from the *Kulambís* is to be found in their religion. The *Kulambís* are now wholly submissive to Brahminical institutes, and are ranked as the fourth estate of the Indian community. The *Kulis* at the most are only partially submissive to Brahmanism, and in many instances they have no connexion with Brahmanism. Their contact with the *Kulambís* does not lead to ceremonial defilement. The *Kulambís* in Gujarát sometimes take their wives from them, with a greater or less degree of concealment of the fact. In physical appearance in many districts they so much resemble the *Kulambís* that it is impossible to distinguish them. The allegation sometimes made that they are altogether a coarser people, has no support from fact. The reverse of this has been sometimes noticed by minute observers. Colonel Mackintosh, speaking of a division of them, says: "The *Kolí* females are generally slender and well formed, with features of a pleasing expression. Some are very pretty. When compared with the stout, robust, and often coarse *Kunbí* women a very considerable difference is perceptible." Some of the *Kulí* Chiefs of pure blood I have sometimes been scarcely able to distinguish from *Rajputs*, who are not all of the Aryan blood, and genuine descendants of the ancient *Kshatriyas* of India. I have met a "*Rajput*" chief who readily admitted that he was of *Kulí* descent. The greatest difference in the physical appearance of the *Kulis*, as in other tribes, arises from their habitat and occupations. Those of them who are fishermen, or who do business on the Indian rivers or on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and who stand more aloof from the Indian community than others on account of their connexion with the destruction of animal life, are pretty distinctive in their bodily appearance. They are particularly strong in the upper part of the body, the muscles which are called into exercise in the rowing and management of their boats being especially well developed.

It is in Gujarát, *Káthiáwád*, *Kachh*, and portions of *Rajputáná* that the *Kulis* are to be found in greatest numbers and in the enjoyment of their greatest independence. North and north-east of the River *Máhi* they form a moiety or more of the whole population. In these districts they are a strong, robust race, probably in a good degree owing to their free use of animal food. The most numerous and respectable division of them is denominated the *Talabdá*, which I have already explained as the equivalent of the word aborigines. They are found, in great numbers, in the *Baroda*, *Khédá* (or *Kaira*), and *Ahmadabád* districts, and even in those running to the north, west, and east of these districts. Most of the other divisions of the *Kulis* in Gujarát receive their names from special localities. It is not necessary at present to attempt to enumerate the different classes of *Kulis*. Some of them are partially under the influence of Brahmanism and some of them are wholly free from it. Those in *Kathiáwád*, ably described as *Bábríá* *Kulis* by General Sir G. LeGrand

*Barbia* *Kulis*.

Jacob, are perhaps the most barbarous of the class. They seem to be the *Barbaras* of the Hindu *Purānas*.

Though formerly much inclined to turbulence and dishonesty, they are, under the judicious care of the British authorities, now generally devoting themselves to the arts of peace.

I have no doubt, as I have stated through the Press, that the original inhabitants of Bombay and the adjoining islands were Kulís. Considerable numbers of them still reside in the Native town of Bombay and in the Máhim districts.

Original inhabitants of Bombay, Kulís.

Kulábá receives its name from them, meaning the abode of Kulís. Most of the Kulís in the neighbourhood of Bombay are employed as fishermen, boatmen, and fish-vendors. Formerly they must have acted to a good extent as street-porters, for their designation is now given to persons of this occupation, though they belong principally to the class of cultivators. A few of them are carpenters, drivers of bullock-carts, and bricklayers. Some years ago I got one or two of their youths, educated in the Missions in Bombay, introduced into our public offices as writers, but they showed no great satisfaction with the work of quill-driving. The male Kulís of Bombay were up to a late period obliged to pay a poll-tax of a rupee annually to Government, named *Ang-déné*, after their arrival at the age of thirteen years. The number thus taxed in 1842 was 922, who belonged to no fewer than eighteen Kulas. In the Máhim districts 1,415, belonging to ten Kulas, were taxed at the same date, the total Kulí population on the island being then estimated at ten thousand souls.

The Kulís in the midst of us have generally merely local designations, as *Mumbaikar Thánkar, Thalkar*, from the towns of Mumbai, Tháná, Thal, etc., to which their ancestors may have belonged. The predominating class of Kulís from Bombay to Surat is denominated *Sona Kuli*, or Golden Kuli, perhaps from *Suvarnadurga*, the golden fort. Large numbers of Kulís congregate on the creeks near the sea in the fair season, for the purpose of catching and salting bomalows. Considerable numbers of them, in the islands of Bombay, Salsette, and Basín, entered the Roman Catholic Church when these islands were under the Portuguese. Large numbers of them, on an outbreak of the cholera about forty-five years ago, returned to heathenism, which they are now again disposed to abandon. The desideratum with them is instruction.

The Kulís of the North Konkan, west of the Gháts, are denominated *Ráj Kulís* from their Chief, the Rájá of Jawár, having some Rajput blood in him. The present Rájá is an amiable and promising young man, Government having been able to pay considerable attention to his education during his minority.

In the valleys east of the Sahyádrí mountains, extending from the Musá, southwest of Puna, to the north of Trimbak at the source of the Godávarí, there is a body of Kulís who have pretty fully embraced Brahmanism, and who are consequently denominated the *Mahádeva* Kulís. They are estimated by Colonel Mackintosh, who has published a very minute account of them, at 10,395 families. Somewhat similar to them are the *Malhár* or *Múllári* Kulís, so called from Khandobá, of whom Mallári is a name, scattered throughout the villages of the Dakhan, and the hill Kulís on the western sides of the Ghats in the Tháná Collectorate and in the Wan Dandorí districts of Surat. There are very few field Kulís in the Southern Konkan, where in appearance they are in no degree to be distinguished from the common cultivators.

The *Kháravas* are a class of Kulís from Gujarát and Kachh, deriving their name from *Kháro*, salt, in the making of which they engage themselves in their native country. Many of

Kárava Kulís.

them are boatmen and fishermen. Within the present century, numbers of them have settled in Bombay, where they are engaged principally as cultivators—by the hoe, pickaxe and bill-book, and as layers and turners of tiles used in the roofing of houses. They generally profess to be observers of Hinduism. They freely use flesh and fish for food, but abstain from the slaughter of the cow, so sacred in the estimation of the modern Indians.

Allied to the *Khāravas*, in their principal occupations, are the *A'garí Kulís* of Bombay and its vicinity. They get their name from the Sanskrit *akāra* (a mine) which in Maráthí, however, has much the signification of the Latin *ager*, a field. Molesworth in his Maráthí Dictionary correctly renders it, "a plantation; a tract on the sea-shore where salterns are established; an enclosure round a house sown or planted; a place or spot of abundance or particular prevalence." The *A'garís* occupy themselves in the production of salt, as well as in the management of boats and other native vessels. A good many of them, as remarked by Colonel Mackintosh, are settled in Bombay, Basín, Tháná, and Panvé. Some of them act as job-labourers and cultivators; and some of them, occasionally, as pálkí-bearers. Like most of the *Kulís* they are under the authority of their own patéls. *Khandobá* of *Jejurí* is their favourite deity. Their style of dress much resembles that of the fishermen *Kulís*, though it is of an ampler character than that of those who have devoted themselves principally to employment in rivers and creeks, and the ocean.

The *Kulís*, having fewer prejudices of caste and religion than the body of the Hindu people, are perhaps more susceptible of improvement and advancement than their neighbours, though the occupations of many of them are not favourable to the promotion among them of education.

In the same way as we have isolations from the *Bhillas*, so we have isolations from the *Kulís*, formed in circumstances similar to those to which I have already alluded. Among these *Kulí* isolations, I think, are two curious tribes, mentioned by Dr. A. Gibson in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Bombay Medical and Physical Society*, the *Dhudías* and the *Chaudharís*.

#### *The Dhudías.*

The *Dhudías*, Dr. Gibson describes as a small but well knit and active race, who, though now settled as cultivators, retain many of the propensities of the savage race, particularly as far as hunting and snaring animals are concerned. They do not profess Hinduism. They have no caste or distinct priesthood. Their temples are lofty cotton trees, covered with creepers, under which upright stones are generally placed in rows and circles, as is usually the case in the prevailing devil-worship of the lower tribes in India.\* They are found in the southern parganahs of the Surat Collectorate, somewhat removed from the coast. I have also met considerable numbers of them (speaking the Gujarátí language) in the coast districts of the Northern Konkan, south of the Portuguese settlement of Daman, but probably emigrants, at no great distance of time, from the Collectorate indicated by Dr. Gibson. They profess to worship *Barham Déva*, (the god *Brahma*); but their notions of this deity so-called by them are not those of the Hindus in general. He is generally represented by them as a shapeless stone. I observed among them, too, as objects of Pújá (or material worship) a few earthen pots and clay figures of horses placed under a tree. I found

\* See Dr. Gibson's paper in *Transactions of the Bombay Medical Society*, No. I.

some of them proprietors of both cattle and carts. Their women seemed active and industrious. They had dozens of brass rings both on their arms and ankles. I did not find that the Dhudias have any connexion with the Bráhmans. They perform their own marriage ceremonies by simply placing their hands together and binding them by a knot while the women engage in singing. I took down a few of their names when with them, such as Kavají Sakho (friend), Jivalo (darling), Gorákhyo (cowherd) Vazír, Motiyo (pearl), Fakír, Jéthyo, Mando, Dalyo, Samak, Chindo. They have clans among themselves, but only one of them was named to me—the Dandaliyo. The first name given by them they have taken from the Parsis, and Wazír and Fakír they have taken from the Muhammadans. *Dhudia*, I may add, is the name of a caste of fishermen on the banks of the Yamuná.

#### *The Chaudharis.*

To the north of the tribe now mentioned, till the occurrence of the River Táptí, are the *Chaudharis*. In point of stature they are superior to the Dhudias. They engage both in agriculture and fishing. Their odd manners and customs have led them, especially their women, to be esteemed as adepts in witchcraft, which crime is repressed among them by their neighbours by the excision of their noses. Many of the fishermen of the Athavási district, who are denominated Kulís, claim to be of kin with them, a not equivocal proof of their being originally Kulís. The ethnography of the natives is generally of a very limited character, but, as far as it confines itself to the cognizance of human descent and relationship, it is generally correct. Its genealogies sometimes terminate in monkeys or some other brutes, or in marvellous generation by superhuman beings.

#### *The Wáralis.*

Of all the isolations from the great body of the Kulís the most interesting and remarkable I consider to be that of the *Wáralis* of the Northern Konkan, a minute description of whom, founded on my personal intercourse with them, I presented many years ago to our local Asiatic Society. My notes of them have more than once passed through the press in Europe, and they have been extensively referred to by ethnographers and geographers both in Britain and on the Continent. My later intercourse with the *Wáralis* might warrant an expansion of these notes, but it does not require any correction to be made of them.

The name *Wáralí* I have never thought to be a patronymic. It has been suggested to me by an intelligent native officer of Government that it may be derived from the Maráthí word *Wáral*, which, in one of its applications, means a small patch of cultivated ground. They are more slender in their form than the common agriculturists of the Maratha country, and they are somewhat darker in their complexion. They seldom cut either the hair of their heads or beards, which is very sparse; and in general they are but slightly clothed. Their small huts are formed of bambus and bramble twisted into a slight frame-work of wood, and thickly covered with grass, of a quadrangular or circular shape, tapering off like bee-hives. They cultivate and live principally upon pulse, raising also a small quantity of rice. They maintain immense quantities of fowls which they sell at a cheap rate, and they earn a little money by cutting wood near the principal streams and creeks of their territories, and by collecting firewood. They are immoderately fond of smoking

tobacco and drinking spirits, when they can get them. It is a wonder to me that they can live in the jungles that they inhabit. They are wholly distinct from Brahmanism, which they declare to be only the *Shendídharma*, or the religion of the tuft. The following are specimens of the questions which were put to them on my first visit, with their answers recorded and translated verbatim :—

Conversation with the  
Wáralis in 1839.

“What are your names?” Lášhio, Kákava, Shámjǐ,  
Gopajǐ, Baḍaga, Hindio, Rupajǐ, Dival, Dévajǐ,  
Holo.

“What were the names of your fathers?” “Bhiktu, Sukho, Samo, Dhan-  
jǐ, Dhakio, Zanio.” [Three persons did not know the names of their  
fathers.]

“What are the names of your wives?” “We never mention the names  
of our wives.”

“But were you ever asked before by a *Sahab*?” “Never, never. Their  
names are Harkhu, Thakalǐ, Sonáí (the lady of the gold), Kaluná,  
Rupai (the lady of the silver.)”

[No individual mentioned the name of his own wife; each man gave that  
of his neighbour.]

“Do the Brahmans marry you?” “No, we are our own Brahmans,  
our own priests. Our women marry us, by singing over a cup of  
dárú (spirits), the bridegroom drinking first, the bride second, and  
afterwards the whole company.”

“At what age do you marry?” “Girls from twelve years and upwards,  
and boys from sixteen years and upwards.”

“Do you choose wives for yourselves?” “We look out for a woman to  
our own liking, and then ask our parents and friends to conclude  
the bargain for us.”

“How much do you pay for a wife?” “Nine rupees and a-half.”

“Why don’t you give ten?” “This is not our custom.”

“Do you ever pay a smaller sum for a wife than nine rupees and a-half?”  
“Sometimes we conclude the bargain for eight rupees. In your  
country [the Company’s territories. We were then in the Havéí  
pargaṇah of the Portuguese] wives are cheap.”

“Do any of you keep more wives than one?” “*Ré! Ré!* We can scarcely  
feed one; why should we think of more?”

“Do you consult any book before giving names to your children?” “No;  
we give names from our own minds. The father chooses the name.”

“When do you give names to your children?” “When they are able to  
understand them.”

“How do you address your children before they get their names?” “We  
call them Dádu, Bálu (Sir), and Báí (Ma’am).”

“When do you first give clothes to your children?” “To boys when they  
are twelve years old.”

“How do you treat your children when they disobey your commands?”  
“We scold them.”

- “ Do you never whip your children ? ” “ What ! strike our own offspring ? We never strike them.”
- “ When your wives disobey your commands, how do you treat them ? ”  
“ We give them chastisement less or more. How could we manage them without striking them ? ”
- “ But don't they get angry with you when you beat them ? ” “ They get angry of course.”
- “ Do you give any instructions to your children ? ” “ Yes, we say to them, don't be idle, work in the fields, cut sticks, collect cowdung, sweep the house, bring water, tie up the cows.”
- “ Do you give them no more instructions than these ? ” “ What more do they need ? ”
- “ Don't you teach them to read or write ? ” “ No Wáralis can either read or write.”
- “ Do you give them any instructions about God ? ” “ Why should we speak about God to them ? ”
- “ What god do you worship ? ” “ We worship Wághiá (the lord of tigers).”
- “ Has he any form ? ” “ He is a shapeless stone, smeared with red-lead and ghí (clarified butter).”
- “ How do you worship him ? ” “ We give him chickens and goats, break cocoanuts on his head, and pour oil on him.”
- “ What does your god give to you ? ” “ He preserves us from tigers, gives us crops, and keeps disease from us.”
- “ But how can a stone do all this for you ? ” “ There is something besides the stone at the place where it is fixed.”
- “ What is that thing ? ” “ We don't know ; we do as our forefathers showed us.”
- “ Who inflicts pain upon you ? ” “ Wághiá, when we don't worship him.”
- “ Does he ever enter your bodies ? ” “ Yes, he seizes us by the throat like a cat ; he sticks to our bodies.
- “ Do you find pleasure in his visits ? ” “ Truly we do.”
- “ Do you ever scold Wághia ? ” “ To be sure, we do. We say, you fellow, we have given you a chicken, a goat, and yet you strike us ! What more do you want ? ”
- “ Do you never beat Wághiá ? ” “ Never.”
- “ Whether do you bury or burn your dead ? ” “ We burn them.”
- “ What interval occurs between the death and the burning ? ” “ We allow no interval when the death occurs during the day. When it occurs during the night, we keep the body outside till the break of day.”
- “ Why are you so hasty in the disposal of your dead ? ” “ Why should we keep a corpse beside us ? ”
- “ Where does the soul go after death ? ” “ How can we answer that question ? ”
- “ When a man dies in sin, whither does he go ? ” “ How can we answer that question ? ”

“ Does he go to a good place or a bad place ? ” “ We cannot tell.”

“ Does he go to heaven or to hell ? ” “ He goes to hell.”

“ What kind of a place is hell ? ” “ It is a bad place ; there is suffering in it.”

“ Who are in hell ? ” “ We don't know what kind of a *town* it is.”

“ Where do good people go after death ? ” “ They go to Bhagaván (the worshipful, self-existent).”

“ Don't they go to Wághiá ? ” “ No, he lives in the jungles.”

“ Where is Bhagaván ? ” “ We don't know where he is, and where he is not.”

“ Does Bhagaván do anything for you ? ” “ How can God do anything for us ? He has neither *déha* (body) nor *dayá* (mercy), that is to say, he is destitute of qualities.”

Before I proceed farther, I must make a few remarks on the object of some of our questions, and the replies which we received.

Remarks.

Our inquiries relative to the names of the Wáralís were instituted with the purpose of ascertaining whether or not they conform to those commonly current among the Hindus. From the list which I have given, as well as from many others in my possession, it is clear that they have not been bestowed in accordance with the institutes of Brahmanism. According to these authorities, names should be given to children about the twelfth day after birth ; they should be selected by the Brahman astrologer, after consulting the horoscope and almanac ; their first term should be that of a god, for there is the merit of prayer in pronouncing such a term, even when calling to a person in common discourse ; they should not be unmeaning and absurd ; they should not consist of an uneven number of syllables ; and they should be communicated with various rites and ceremonies, which need not be mentioned. It is in the celebration of marriages that the Brahmans are most in requisition among the Hindus, and the fact that they are entirely discarded by the Wáralís on these occasions is particularly to be noted. The family government brought to our notice corresponds with that of many of the lower orders in this country, and, to a good extent, with that of the uncivilized aborigines of North America. Wághiá, the object of worship, is evidently viewed as a malevolent being, who may be either frightened, or cajoled, according to the convenience of his devotees. The abusive treatment which he sometimes receives is not peculiar to himself, for even the Hindu Shastra sanctions the resort to *viroddha-bhaktí*, or the worship of opposition, and presents us with many examples of its signal success both amongst gods and men ! The Wáralí notions of the future state are faint to a degree which we seldom see exemplified among the Hindus, and there is scarcely evinced in connexion with them any feeling of moral responsibility. Many persons, after receiving the first answers which we obtained respecting Wághiá, would have set down the Wáralís as having no belief in a Supreme God. Incidentally, however, they evince that though nearly entirely ignorant of his character they admit his existence.

After leaving Rákholí and its neighbourhood where the preceding conversation occurred, we visited a considerable number of other *hutteries* belonging to the Wáralís, and situated in the Company's territories. The principal of them were those of Kudád, Párjí, Dhábárí, Phalsuní Kinhaaulí, Tlhaàsará, and

Pimpurí. As we took short marches our arrival was generally expected, and persons from different villages voluntarily assembled to meet us, and to listen to our instructions. At Dhábári we found the old chief of the tribe, named Chandaráo, with about thirty-five villagers, who, to do him honour, were content for a day to be reckoned his followers, and to arm themselves with bows, and swords, and matchlocks. Our conversation with this party elicited greater intelligence than we had hitherto witnessed, and we thought the principal man was somewhat unwilling to be considered entirely excluded from the service of the Brahmans. Some of them, he said, had occasionally visited him, and after repeating some *chatar-matar* have got a prize of a couple of silverlings for their trouble. It was, perhaps, from them that he had learned the doctrine which he avowed, that the human soul is identical with the Supreme Mind. The country in which we were travelling, he represented as the everlasting inheritance of the Wáralis, but he could not define the bounds of their habitations. As the result of all our inquiry, I would state generally that, omitting a belt of six or seven miles of country on the coast, they are formed by a line running east of Daman to Jawár, and south-east from Jawár to the Dhánu Creek. My friend Mr. Duncan Davidson, of the Civil Service, who was for several years in charge of the district in which they reside, and who had much intercourse with them on the occasions of his making the usual revenue settlements on the coast, gives me this information respecting them:—"The boundaries of the country of the Wáralis it is difficult to specify. I am not aware how far they extend into the Surat Collectorate, but their principal locations in this zilla are in the Mahals forming its northern boundary, viz., Nehar, Sanján, Udvádá, Baharach, Ashari, Thalásari, and Gambirgadh. They are also found near the coast, but less frequently to the farther south. Their total number may be about 10,000." He also adds, in reference to the land-rent of the Wáralis, the following observations, in which there are both wisdom and benevolence:—"The Wáralis inhabit the very jungly districts of the zillah, and the system of taxation pursued in them is the Nángar-bandí, so called from nángar, a plough, each of which is rated at from five to fifteen rupees per annum, partly a fixed money payment, and partly a commutation in kind, the commutation rate being annually fixed by the Collector, according to prevailing bazar prices, just as the fiars are fixed in Scotland. The Nángar-bandí system obtains in all the Mahals from A'shari round by the eastern side of the Jawár territory, southward along the Ghats to where the Kolwan Táluká joins Morbád, about twenty miles below the Tal Ghat. It is a system which is well suited to the people, whose superstitious aversion to measurement and minute surveys it has been as yet found difficult to overcome; and if it were properly administered, that is to say, if the quantity of land for each plough were marked out as a whole, they would become much more attached to it. As it is, if a man puts an additional plough to increase its productiveness, on the same land which last year he scratched with only one, he has to pay for two. The implements of his industry and his stock are thus at once taxed double; the 'taille' system, in fact, is here carried as far as ever it was in France, and consequently the depressed state of agriculture and the cultivators is easily to be accounted for. It would not be necessary for Government to be at the expense of a minute survey for such a country—indeed the country is not worth it—but it would require neither great expense nor much time to settle the number of ploughs for each village, and to register the boundaries of the

land assigned to each plough, so that the cultivator within them might do as he pleased." It is the richness of the soil, I would remark, which in many places retards its cultivation. The vegetation in the forests is so luxuriant, that the inhabitants fail to subdue it.

There are many *kulas*, or family divisions, amongst the Wáralis, such as the Rávátia, Bantria, Blángará (that of the chief), Bhávar, Sankar, Piléyaná Mériá, Wángad, Thakariá, Jádava, Karbat, Bhendár, Kondária, etc. The clans, indeed, are so numerous, that we are forced to come to the conclusion that they must at one time have been a very powerful people. The population appears to be at present nearly stationary. On account of the unhealthiness of the jungles many of the children are cut off at a very early age. No person marries in his own clan.

The Wáralí villages have not the common officers found in similar places among the Maráthás. They have, generally speaking, a headman, who is in some degree responsible to the Government for their behaviour. The Wáralis are not particularly noted for crime.

We have seen what is the general system of worship among the Wáralis. Unless when calamities overtake them, they are not frequent in their visits to the images of the Wághiá, which at the best are only very rude forms of a tiger. They have an annual service for the dead, when their bhagats, or elders, repeat incantations, kindle lights, and strew flowers at the place where the ashes of the dead have been scattered. They partially observe the two festivals of the *Shimgá* and *Diváli*, which are connected with the warm and cold seasons of the year, and which, though celebrated by the Hindus in general, are often supposed to be ante-Brahmanical.

I have alluded to the readiness of the Wáralis to listen to the Gospel message, and even to declare that their customs are vain and foolish, and worthy of a complete abandonment. They are by no means so systematically, intelligently, and habitually attached to error as the common Hindus, and they are certainly, in appearance, more willing to receive the truth than the majority of the inhabitants of this country. They are consequently not to be overlooked in the general arrangements which may be made for the propagation of Christianity. It is amongst persons in a situation somewhat similar to their own that much success has been experienced by some missionaries in the south of India and in Barmah. The Free Church of Scotland's Mission in Bombay has of late years founded a branch-station among them, the head-quarters of which are at Golwad, in the N. Konkan. It is conducted by native converts (superintended by the Rev. D. Nauroji) and is gradually gaining their confidence. The Government, too, is doing its part for their improvement. The name of Sir Bartle Frere is much respected among those of them who are located on the coast. A valuable letter respecting them (quite in harmony with what I have said of them above) was addressed to the Acting Collector of Tháná, on the 26th March 1852, by Mr. H. B. Bruce, C.S.

#### *The Kátodís or Kátkarís.*

The Kátodís receive their name from the occupation on which they are principally dependent for support—the manufacture of the Kát, or terra japonica, from the Khair tree, or acacia catechu. They principally inhabit the part of the Northern Konkan

which lies along the base of the Sahyádrí range, and is intermediate between the Násik and Puná roads. A few hundreds of them are to be found on the eastern face of the Gháts on the same latitude as the district which I have now mentioned, and running into the Bhor and Sátará territories on the Máwals. Major Mackintosh, who has written an interesting notice of the manner in

Location. which they prepare the catechu, and of some of their peculiar habits, speaks of them as also inhabiting the jungles of the Athávisí, between the Daman-Gangá, and Táptí rivers. "They may be considered as nomades to a certain extent," he says, "for, notwithstanding they always reside in the same country, yet they frequently change their place of residence. If we are to believe their own account, they have been settled in the Athávisí from time immemorial. They have the tradition among them that they are the descendants of the demon Rávana, the tyrant monarch of Lanká, and the same whom the god Ráma vanquished, and whose exploits are related by the distinguished poet Válmíki." They are the most degraded body of natives with whom I am acquainted. They have not settlements of their own like the Wáralís, but they live, as outcastes, near villages inhabited by other classes of the community. They are held in great abhorrence by the common agriculturists, and particularly by the Bráhmans, and their residences are wretched beyond belief. Their miserable huts are situated where all the refuse of the villages is thrown, and they have there companionship with all that is impure. Looking to the position in which they are found, and to the profession of familiar intercourse with malignant spirits which they make, we can scarcely fail to associate with them the words of the Revelation—"Without are dogs and sorcerers." Though they receive considerable sums from the native merchants for the catechu which they prepare during the cold season, they are most improvident in their habits, and often compelled by

Their habits. want to feed on what is most loathsome to the human species. I have seen in their cooking vessels the coarsest vegetables and roots. The animals which they devour they enumerated to me in the following order: "chickens, goats, deer, *rats, coucals, lizards, squirrels, blood-suckers, the black-faced monkey* (*Semipithecus entellus*) doves, partridges, *barbets, and serpents;*" and the conclusion was inevitable that they will readily eat whatever they can digest, with the exception of the brown-faced monkey, which they declare is inhabited by a human soul! They are often very depraved, as well as debased, and are particularly addicted to drunkenness. "Should one of them happen," says Major Mackintosh, to "pass near a liquor shop, without either money or grain to barter for a dram, he will most likely pawn the only rag of cloth on his person to gratify his appetite, and go home naked, in the hope that he may redeem the pledged article on some future day. Owing to their ignorance and prodigality, their circumstances frequently become very desperate; and they have consequently to contend against misery and the many temptations to which want reduces them. They have the credit of being great robbers, stealing corn from the cultivators' fields and farm-yards, also committing robberies in the villages at night, and plundering solitary travellers during the day." Such is the dread entertained of their magical powers that few of the Natives have sufficient courage to give information to the authorities respecting their misdeeds. I am not aware that they frequently resort to violence or murder.

It was in 1832 that I first met with a few individuals belonging to the Kátkarí tribe. Having had occasion to address the inhabitants of a village

on the continent to the north-east of Bombay, I was struck with the attention which many of them were lending to my discourse. "When I, and a Native convert who was with me, began to return home," I wrote at the time, "two men came running up to us on the way. They appeared to be much interested in what they had heard, and with much simplicity declared 'Your word is true.' They belong to that curious class of the Natives called Kátkari, who principally live in the jungle and collect firewood, and prepare kát, the produce of the catechu *minosa*, which the Natives use as an astringent along with the betel-nut and lime. They took my companion to their huts; and when he came back, he said that they and their neighbours, about a score in number, had got him to promise that he would afterwards spend a day or two with them."

From this time I occasionally met with individuals of the Kátkaris but I had no particular intercourse with them till I undertook with Mr. James Mitchell the tour among the Wáralis mentioned above. In his journal under date the 11th of February 1839 I find the following entry: "In the afternoon we rode to Morbár. On the way thither, in one of the villages which we passed, at which we had stopped to inquire if any could read, that we might leave some books, we found a few families of the Kátkaris—a people to inquire into whose circumstances was a particular object of our coming in this direction. On visiting them we found only one of the men at home, the rest having gone into the jungles, some to cut wood for the villagers, and some to seek for roots to use for their own food. The appearance of their houses—mere huts—was wretched in the extreme; they were very little better as habitations than the open air. The women and children had a half-famished appearance, and wild and savage manner. The young, on seeing us, generally took to their heels, as so many wild goats, and when we proposed to the elder people to give a few pice to each of the young who would make his appearance, it was with difficulty they could induce any number of them to come out from their hiding places, or return from their flight. Dr. Wilson gave the Patel some money to be distributed among the children. Our interest in them, which was intense, seemed to please the people. As it was getting late, we could not converse long with them, but took on the man with us to Morbár, intending to get information from him regarding the tribe; on reaching the place, however, the people informed us that there was a colony of them in the village; we, therefore, rewarded the person we had brought with us, and let him return to his own village, as the Government Kárkun here promised to call some of their principal men to meet us in the morning."

Most of the subsequent day we devoted to the work of conferring with, and instructing the Kátkaris of Morbár and a neighbouring village. In order to induce them to remain with us till our curiosity was satisfied, we promised that those who would continue to sit with us should each receive a day's wages for their patience, which had never in this way been formerly tried. I proposed to them the same set of queries which we had used with the Wáralis, and made an exact record of the answers which we obtained. The result of our inquiries, not already forestalled, may be given in a small space.

After having mentioned the liberty which they take with reference to food, and the fact of their devouring the sacred monkey of India, I need hardly say that they avowed a total disconnexion with Brahmanical institutes.

Their names are entirely different from those of the Hindus, and lead to the inference which has already been made in the case of the Wáralis. They represented themselves as accustomed to call on the name of the Supreme God (*Ishwara*) without proffering any particular requests when engaged in his worship, except those which pertain to their immediate bodily wants and the removal of their complaints. Their notions of the divine spirituality they expressed to us by saying, that "God comes like the wind, and goes like the wind." To the Divine Being they attributed the rain which waters the fields; but whether or not he is the author of life they could not tell. They appeared scarcely at all conscious of any moral responsibility, and they observed that their friends had died without offering up a single prayer, or manifesting the slightest anxiety about their final destiny. Of the nature of the future state they actually know nothing; and they could scarcely understand our meaning, when we asked them whether their souls have to transmigrate or not into other bodies. "We give the crows something to eat," they said, "when our relatives die." On a particular day of the year we cry out *Kíva, Kíva*, to the memory of our fathers. We don't know, however, the reason. We do as others do." They burn their dead, and, contrary to the custom of the Hindus, the bodies of their children who survive only a few days. Diseases, they remarked, walk up and down, and rest where they please. Their aged men are their priests; but, except when they use incantations for the control of devils, and celebrate marriages, and are about to commence their annual work of the preparation of the *kát*, they have few ceremonies to perform. The ceremony of wedding, on which the Natives in general are accustomed to lay so much stress, is with them a very simple affair, and is performed by placing, without any form of words, a chaplet of leaves or paper, first on the head of the bride, and then of the bridegroom, and afterwards besmearing them with turmeric, a popular unguent. The cost of a wife is fixed at two rupees; but about ten times this sum is required to pay the expenses of the feasting and rioting, which are the invariable consequences of the first formation of a matrimonial connexion. Children are named as soon as they are born. The family circle is anything but the abode of peace; but women are viewed as more on a parity with men than among other classes of the aborigines. They are greatly addicted to prognostications respecting lucky and unlucky days, but they do not state the grounds of their conjectures. When they proceed to the jungles, for the purpose of preparing the *kát*, they hold their encampments as sacred, and will allow no persons of other castes to approach them without giving previous warning. It is from the inner portion of the *Khair* tree that, by the process of boiling and afterwards inspissating the juice and reducing it to the form of a cake, they procure the catechu. Before felling a single tree in the forest, they select, according to their families, one of the kind on which they have to operate, which they constitute a god, and which they worship by presenting to it a cocoanut, burning frankincense, applying a red pigment, and soliciting it to bless their undertaking. It is singular that they are not accustomed to partake of the catechu which they manufacture. Of the pith of the tree, however, they are very fond.

The *Kátkaris* whom I have seen have all belonged to two clans—the *Helan* and the *Pawàr*. Major Mackintosh mentions other two—the *Jádava* and the *Shindé*. It is scarcely possible at present to form an estimate of the extent of their entire population

Their Clans.

I do not think that it is likely that such efforts to bring the Kátkarís within the pale of Hinduism will be made by the Bráhmans and religious mendicants of this quarter as are now to be witnessed among the aborigines in other parts of India. Though, from sympathy with their neighbours, and a desire to share in the offerings of superstition, they pay some regard to the Holí, Diválí, and Dashahará, the three most popular festivals of the Hindus, the Kátkarís have no respect for the Hindu gods. Instead of seeking to place themselves under the restrictions of other castes, they sometimes, in revenge for supposed insults, compel strangers, by the hands of their women, whose touch communicates defilement almost irremediable, to join their own community. Christian benevolence in fact, powerful and disinterested, is required to descend to the depths of their degradation. Without entering at present on the general question of the conversion of the aborigines, I would remark that the Moravian system of erecting villages would probably be found most suitable to *their* circumstances. I have no doubt that if ground were assigned to them on easy terms by the Government, and if they were put in possession of the means of bringing it under cultivation, and prevented from dissipating these means by a resort to the liquor-shop, they might be content to establish themselves as a body of agriculturists. I am happy to be able to say that the authorities here are showing for them a paternal concern, much in the way to which I have now alluded, and that success promises to be the result. Till they are more collected together, and till schools can be formed for their special benefit, the prospect of their education must be considered remote. Few other native children would sit with their youth under the same teacher till they are reformed in their habits.

#### *The Dubalas.*

The word *dubala* is a Prákrít form of the Sanskrit *durbala*, 'without strength,' 'weakened,' 'oppressed.' It is applied to considerable numbers of the members of the wild tribes on the Coasts of the Northern Konkan and the Surat Collectorate and in the petty native states connected with them, who like their ancestors in many cases, have lost their tribal and clan connexions, and who have been, till lately, virtually enslaved, though not much loathed for caste defilement, (on account of their occasionally rendered domestic service). I am not certain that the disposal of them by private pecuniary arrangements has altogether ceased, though, of course, it is not sanctioned by the British authorities. Some of them, however, have claimed their liberty and now dispose of their own services, or act for themselves as labourers. They keep to the name which they have received, but this for want of a better, by which they can be distinguished from other people. A few of them about Umargáum and its neighbourhood have got cattle and carts of their own.

#### *The Jungle Thákurs.*

A secession from both the Kulís and the Wáralís took place both in the Athávisí of Gujarát and the Northern Konkan, in the days of Mahmud Begaða and other Muhammadan princes of Gujarát. When these princes were pushing their conquests and using violence for the conversion of the Hindus to Islamism, some of the *Thákurs* (barons) of Gujarát fled to the jungles, and induced considerable numbers of

the Hindus of different tribes to join their standard, and to bind themselves by an oath to support their cause. The descendants of this mixed multitude, who had not pretensions to re-establish themselves in the higher castes, are now to be found, in comparatively small numbers, in the districts now mentioned. Those in our own neighbourhood (near Kalyán, Máthérán, etc.) can scarcely be distinguished in appearance from the Wáralís. Their knowledge of Hinduism is very faint. They shun the Bráhmans, and are shunned by the Bráhmans. The principal object of their worship on Máthérán, and that of the Gavalís—a wandering tribe of herdsmen often associated with them—is a devil named Pishunath (properly *Pashunátha*) the Lord-of-cattle. They procure their livelihood by collecting firewood, carrying small loads, and catching rats and other vermin, which they relish as much as we do our hares and rabbits. Like the other jungle tribes they are immoderately fond of spirits.

#### *The Rámushis or Bédars.*

The *Rámushis* of the Maráthá country correspond with the *Bédars* or *Bélas* of the Nizam's territories. They are principally found in the hilly district through which the Nirá flows, and in those which are intermediate between the Bhímá and the Krishná, above their junction, in which are the territories lately occupied by the highest personage of their body, the Rájá of Shorapur. The founder of this family came into notice by aiding Aurangzib in the subjugation of the Bijápur State, for which service he was made a Rájá and a royal Mansubdár of 5,000 men. His successors had considerable territory, power, and wealth. In later times they were tributary to the Nizam's government. The last of them in power having compromised himself during the troublous times of 1857-58 was being taken a prisoner to Madras, when he committed suicide by shooting himself. His estates having been escheated fell to the lot of the Nizam. There is a strong Dravidian element even among the Rámushís now settled in the Maráthá country, showing that after settlement in the south they have migrated to the north-west, in which they have been particularly remarkable for their wildness and lawlessness. They are great devotees of the god Khanđobá of Jéjurí, about twenty-five miles to the south of Puná. This deity who, there is reason to suppose, was merely a king of Dévagiri, who obtained the apotheosis for his military bravery, they hold, in common with the other Hindus of the west of India, to be an incarnation of Shiva. There is a great deal of religious fanaticism among them. Of the Hindu classical gods, Ráma is their favourite. Their own name they explain as equivalent to *Rámavanshí*, 'of the lineage of Ráma', that is, probably of the jungle tribes said to have been attached to his cause. Perhaps it is from *Ránarásí*, 'dwelling-in-the-wilderness'.

### III. THE DEPRESSED ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

The depressed Aboriginal Tribes, to which I now turn, have much that is interesting connected with them. Here, it will be observed, I refer to tribes, and not to mere fractions of these tribes or outcastes, like the *Bhangís*, or broken people, originally brought down by the Muhammadans from the upper provinces of Hindustan to perform for them the lowest offices, and the *Dubalas*, mentioned above, often employed as servants in Native families, without any caste defilement being associated with them. I have in my eye large bodies of

General Remarks.

Bhangís.

and the *Dubalas*,

Dubalas.

Natives, evidently the remains of nationalities subdued and long grievously oppressed and abhorred by those who have been their conquerors and have held themselves in every respect to be their superiors. I refer to such tribes as the *Dhédés* of Gujarát, the *Mahárs*, or *Parváris*, and *Máings* of the Maráthá country, and the *Bédars* of the Southern Maratha Country and the north of the Karnátak. These, from their abundance in the provinces over which they are everywhere scattered, are the remains of powerful peoples. I connect them with the earlier Turanian immigrations into India, with which the adherents of the A'ryas must for ages have maintained a serious struggle. Their physiognomy evidently marks them as of Cushite origin; and though not particular in colour or woolly hair, some of them resemble in some respects the African type, viewed in its general aspects. I have seen individuals of them, indeed, mistaken for Africans by strangers. In considering them to be of Scythian or Turanian or Hamitic origin, I am not doing violence to the father of Grecian history; for it is evident that among the Scythian nations mentioned by Herodotus there must have been tribes of Hamitic as well as Japhetan descent. They have evidently not so closely allied themselves with the A'ryas as the later Turanian immigrants did, whose language probably was not very remote in some respects from the A'ryan or Sanskrit tongue, and who did not differ from them in a very marked manner in physiognomy. Few of the members of the tribes to which I refer have yet acquired the real pronunciation of the northern languages, even though they speak these languages. In their use of the double consonants, which they decompose, in their change of the vowels, in their aggravation and misplacement of the nasals, and in their interjection of superfluous expletive grammatical fragments of olden tongues, and in their murder of the A'ryan grammar, they are sure to be recognized. The most ridiculous mistakes are sometimes the consequence of their peculiar pronunciation. I give a single example as related by the Bráhmans. A reader of the Hindu Puránas came into a village, and thus addressed the Mahár, whose duty it was to act as village messenger, तुझी गांवात जाऊन लोकांस सांग कां पौराणिक बावर्तें पुराणें सोडलीं तुझी श्रवण करण्यासाठीं या, *i. e.*, "Go into the village and tell the people, "The Pauránik Bávart has opened out the Puránas; come and listen to him." The obedient messenger, with a full comprehension of his meaning, thus delivered himself: पुराणिक बावर्तें पुराण सोडला तुझी शरण करण्यासाठीं या, that is, The Pauránik Bava has lost his life, come and perform the funeral ceremonies!" and thus unwittingly put the entire village into consternation. Though few Dravidian words of the southern family of languages are found among the Dhédés and Mahárs, they are plentiful among the Máings, as may be seen from the Kanarese words in their vocabulary by Captain Barr, published in the Kolápur Selections. The Kunbí race of the Dakhan, as distinguished from their own tribe, they actually denominate *A'ryars* or *A'ryas*. It is principally the antipathy of race, then, which we see existing between the Bráhmans and their Kunbí supporters on the one hand, and the degraded Dhédés, Mahárs, Máings, and Bédars on the other, who are held to defile those who are now predominant over them by their *sparsha* or touch, or even by their shadows, which are entirely of a negative character, caused by the interception of the direct or reflected rays of the sun. This antipathy of race is perhaps a stronger element in caste than the antipathy of religion, and the antipathy of rank, and the antipathy of occupation, the other principal elements of which, in a state of maddened fermentation, caste is often composed.

*The Dheds.*

The appellation of *Dhēda*, applied to a tribe in Gujārāt, is felt by them to be a nickname; the precise meaning of which it is difficult to discover.

The nearest resemblance to it in the Indian literature is the word *Darada*, applied to a people situated to the north of the affluents of the Indus, as represented in the Mahābhārata, of whom no more likely nominal representatives can be found than the *Dheds*, or *Dherdas*, of Gujārāt.\* These Dhēdas we look upon with interest, though their sufferings at the hands of those considering themselves their superiors have indeed reduced them to a great depth of degradation, social and moral. To their own Turanian superstitions they have added many others, derived from the people among whom they dwell, as noticed in a little interesting paper by a highly respected Native minister of the Gospel, the Rev. Dhanjibhai Nauroji. Their Gurus, called by them Garodīs, profess to be Brāhmanas and magicians, and are accomplished money-raisers. Hopes of the elevation of the Dhēdas are founded on their readiness to enter into the service of Europeans and the efficient manner in which they seek to discharge their duties. Considerable numbers of them have embraced Christianity under the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujārāt.

*The Mahārs.*

The *Mahārs* or *Parrāris* of the Marāthā country are the exact counterparts of the Dheds in Gujārāt. It is from them, perhaps, as some hold, that the Marāthā country, the native name of which is *Mahārāshtra*, derives its name. The Brāhmanas render this name the "great country," though they do not adduce any historical or geographical reason for its receiving this designation. In the same way as *Gurjarāshtra* means the country of the *Gurjaras*, so, it is thought *Mahārāshtra*, or *Mahārāshtra* means the country of the *Mahārs*. The *Porvaroi* are mentioned as a people by Ptolemy of the second century. The Mahārs always represent themselves as the remains of the original owners of the soil on which they dwell. They are to this day the oracles of the villages in all boundary disputes. From them are chosen the lowest officers of the Bālutadār associations, or burgh corporations, so general in the west of India. They watch the village, attend its Patel and Kulkarnī, or clerk, carry messages, attend and assist travellers, clean the assembly hall, and perform a great many other menial offices, for which they have allotments of land and various perquisites in goods and money, including the carcasses of dead animals which they readily eat. Many of them have entered the British army in which they make good soldiers, being stronger and taller than the cultivator class. They make excellent hamāls or palanquin-bearers. A considerable number of them

\* Though the present inhabitants of the districts in which the *Daradas* resided have been found by Dr. Leitner and others to speak an Aryan language, they may have been preceded there by a non-Aryan tribe which early found its way to Sindh and Gujārāt. The "pleasure-giving divine, and swift-flowing river" the Sarasvati is represented in the Mahābhārata (parva V. 10538) as entering the earth (*i.e.*, losing itself in the sands) on reaching the door of the Nishādas, olden settlers, on account of their *dosha*, or contaminative influence. On the line of the pointing of the river to the west were settled the *Abhīras*, the *Abirians* of Ptolemy, and (according to the supposition which I venture to make) the *Daradas*, or *Dhēds*. It is not more difficult to account for their name in that position than for the re-appearance of the *Madras* and *Sudras* (the neighbours of the *Daradas*) in the south-east coast of the Indian Peninsula.

are in the service of Europeans. Strictly speaking, they are not within the pale of Hinduism, for though they worship some of its gods in their lowest forms they are not allowed to pass the threshold of the temples; and, generally speaking, except at marriages, they employ Bairágís, Gosávis, and other devotees as their priests instead of the Bráhmans. As can easily be conceived they are warm friends of the British Government. They are not to be pitted by us, however, against the other classes of society, but to be upheld by us in all their just rights and privileges. Considerable numbers of them have embraced Christianity in connexion with the different missions in the west of India. The great majority of the converts of the American Mission at Ahmadnagar is composed of people of their tribe. The conversion of the Mahárs as of other classes of the Indian population is attended by their social elevation.

#### *The Mangs.*

The *Mángs* (*Mátangs* in Sanskrit books and *Máligera* in Kanarese) are intermediate between the Mahárs of the Maráthá Country and the Pariahs (*Parayars*) of the Madras Presidency. Even in the Maráthá Country their language has a considerable number of Dravidian words, as shown in the Report of Kolápur published by the late Major Douglas Graham. Strong antipathies exist between them and the Mahárs—they affecting to despise the Mahárs because they eat the flesh of the cow, and the Mahárs despising them because they eat the flesh of the sow. There are several varieties of them, such as the *Bundé*, *Náda-Sándhanaré*, *Péti*, *Ali Mádgar*, *Gáruđi*, *Buruđ*, *Uchalí*, *Gaum-Dakhalewár*, *Kokalwár*, *Vinilwár*, and *Nícha Mángs*. They make ropes of twine and of the thongs of leather; string sleeping cots; make mats, and baskets; perforate the noses of bullocks, and make muzzles for them; and when settled in the outskirts of villages, they act as village servants (watchmen, guides, holders and cleaners of horses, etc.), on which account they receive established dues and perquisites. Their sparsha, or touch, requires, according to the caste system, ablution both of the body and clothes of the defiled (*sachailasnána*). They are generally married by the Bráhmans, and that at an early age, as they think it unlucky for any person to die unmarried. Near Jálná the Mángs are numerous, and many of them there cultivate fields on their own account. Some hundreds of them there have embraced Christianity under the ministry of the Rev. Náráyan Shéshádrí of the Free Church of Scotland.

#### IV.—THE WANDERING TRIBES AND CLASSES.

Most of the Indian wandering classes of society belong to the lower tribes; but to understand the religious and social professions which most of them make, it is necessary to refer to the definite sects of Devotees recognized in the country, and which the lower classes often imitate, though many of them have been established by even the most learned Bráhmans.

This subject I feel to be more extensive and important than to many it may at first sight appear. A large portion of the diversified population of this great country, found in very peculiar and not uninteresting circumstances, is comprehended under the present heading. An intelligent and correct recognition, both by Europeans and natives, of their general characteristics and social condition, is very much to be desired. Some of them are to be viewed with deep regret, and some of them with comparative approval. In some of them

we perceive rampant presumption, enthusiasm, and fanaticism; and in others the meekness and lowliness, not uncombined with cunning and skill, of long depression and persecution. The ordinary pursuits of some of their classes, as they are at present ordered, are mainly of an injurious and criminal character; and special means ought to be adopted for inducing them to change or abandon these pursuits. The engagements of other classes of them are lawful and right, and they ought not merely to be tolerated but encouraged. All of them, more or less, demand, and to a considerable extent receive the benevolent interference of Government and the community, and of practical philanthropists.

### 1. *Religious Devotees and Pilgrims.*

I begin with *Devotees and Pilgrims, and other Religious Mendicants.*

Religious Devotees have existed in India from the earliest times. The Rishis or authors of the Vedic hymns, seem, in some instances, to have been as much personal devotees to the praise of the gods and religious service as members of an established or hereditary priesthood, though but few incidents of their course of life can be gathered from their *Súktas*, or Songs of praise, which have been preserved to the present day. When the Brahmanical organization was arranged, the *Vánaprastha*, or Hermit of the Wilderness, and the *Sannyási* or Anchorite, were two of its four authoritatively constituted *A'shramas* or Orders. The former practised austerities in the forests adjoining towns and villages; and the latter, devoted principally to contemplation, was enjoined to wander about continually without giving pain to living beings. Even the *Pándava Kshatriyas*, as Yudhishthíra, and his four brothers, with their common wife Draupad, are represented as performing the *Maháprasthána*, or Great Journey to the Himálayas, on their way to the holy mount Méru, whence their *Svargárohana* or Departure to Heaven is said to have taken place. As the legendry of Hinduism increased and became localized, certain places were viewed as peculiarly interesting and holy; and the devotees connected with them often set out on a visit to their whole circle. The Buddhist revolution, when it occurred in the sixth or fifth century before Christ, put the Mendicant Devotee before the Bráhmaṇ and had its numerous begging nuns as well as its monks. Of these, as representatives, the *Yatis* of the Jainas, very peaceful wanderers, still remain in the North-West and South of India. When after ten or twelve hundred years of domination the Buddhist system of faith and practice was overthrown, in its religious seat, by resuscitated Bráhmaṇism, supported anew by the Indian princes, the professions and pretences of the devotee, somewhat modified by Buddhism, still continued. The determined champions of Bráhmaṇism, such as Shankaráchérya of the eighth century, and his associates and successors, who were themselves Brahmanical devotees, assumed an importance never before conceded to mere individuals of the priesthood. They became the Svámís, or religious oracles, pontiffs, and lords of the country; but they did not long maintain undivided sway among its diversified tribes. The concept of the numerous gods of the pantheon had been changed from age to age; and the accumulation of legends connected with them gave scope to the popular choice and facilities to the generation and growth of a

Religious Preference. rampant sectarianism, which appears even in the Puránas. The devotees of the different gods were the leaders of this movement; and everywhere they had a large following. One sect, as the case might be, was for the supremacy of *Vishnu*, another for that of the deified concepts, or kings, *Ráma* or *Krishna*, both set forth as

*avatāras* or descents of Vishṇu; a third for that of *Shiva*, the god of increase, viewed as their Mahādéva or Great God; a fourth for that of his consort *Dévi*, or the 'goddess' emphatically so called; and a fifth for that of the *Shaktis* or female energies in general. The Devotees and Svámis moved throughout the country, and gradually brought by far the larger portion of the Hindus within the pale of their own sects, everywhere proclaiming also the advantages of visiting the famous shrines of the gods, and the various places rendered famous in their legendry. Hence the real origin of the Hindu religious Sects, and the Pilgrimages so dear to multitudes of the people.

The origin and peculiarities of many of the Hindu sects favouring these influences and encouraging the system of pilgrimage are now pretty precisely known.

#### *The Rámánujas.*

The *Shri-Sampradāya* sect of the *Vaishṇavas* was, according to Professor

H. H. Wilson,\* founded by *Rámánuja A'chārya*, a native of the south of India, and a student at Káncchi, about the middle of the twelfth century. He was a dissident from the violent support of Shiva by the Chola Rájá Kérikála, and converted by Rájá Viṭhal Déva, formerly a Jaina, to the faith of Vishṇu. He propagated his peculiar doctrines, both in the north and south of India; but it was in the latter division of the country that they made most progress. He established numerous Maṭhas or convents, a few of which still remain. The teachers of his sect are principally Bráhmans; but his disciples may be of any caste, not of impure birth. One division of the chief of the sect is studious of perfect privacy in eating and drinking; and its members put on spare silk garments when taking their meals. The chief Rámánujas do not eat with the Bráhmans of their own castes, who have not embraced their peculiar tenets. Their mantra used as a pass word is "Salutation to Ráma." They are very careful about their pigments and sectarial marks, and have often their bodies, like other Vaishṇava devotees, stamped with hot iron. They identify Vishṇu with the creative as well as with the preserving power, but they get their titular denomination from their special worship of Shrí or Lakshmi, the wife of Vishṇu. They identify god and the universe, and in this sense are pantheists; but they consider the divinity to be essentially possessed of attributes, on which account they are denominated *Vishishtádvaita*. † They are great opponents of the Shaivas, and are not very friendly even to the modern sects of the Vaishṇavas. Some of their principal teachers find it profitable to visit Bombay. Their disciples approach them with much reverence, each of them saying, *Dāsomi*, 'I am thy slave.' They receive presents in silver, gold, copper, brass, grain, cloth, etc., from their votaries. They use sectarian marks on their foreheads. An account of their metaphysical tenets is given by Professor Wilson. ‡

\* See his excellent work on the Religious Sects of the Hindus, reprinted (with his other works) and edited by Dr. Rost for Trübner and Co.

† That is, 'distinguishing non-dualist' (admitting qualities as essentially belonging to deity, and recognizing, *Paramátmá* the supreme spirit and *prakriti*, matter, dependent on the supreme cause for its existence or manifestation.

‡ There are one or two errors, I think, in his account. While Rámánuja is the author of the first three works ascribed to him by the learned Professor, he is not the author of the *Vedánta Pradīpa* and the *Vedánta Sāra*. In the list of the six Purānas received by the Rámánujas, the name of the *Padma* is properly inserted; but it is only the *Uttara Khanda*, or last section of that work, that they accept. For "*Guru Para*", *Guru Parama* should be read.

*The Rámánandís.*

The *Rámánandís* (popularly known as *Bairágís*\*) are so called from their founder (who chose his name from devotion to Ráma the incarnation of Vishnu), originated about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. Rámánanda is said to have been in the first instance a Rámánuja; but he took offence, at his having been required to take his meals apart from his fellows (from suspicions formed of his having neglected the law of privacy during his peregrinations as a pilgrim), and started life on his own account. His general residence was at Benares, but he and his followers have founded throughout India many mathas or monastic residencies (endowed and unendowed, generally under a *Mahanta* or superior), many of which have their own special endowments and privileges. The principal objects of the worship of the Rámánandís are Ráma and Sítá; and their principal mantra is *Jaya Ráma* or *Jaya Sítá Ráma*. They frequently denominate themselves *Sítá-padres*. They are by no means so strict and precise as the sect from which they originated. They admit disciples of every caste, and enumerate among the alleged twelve principal pupils of their founder, *Kabír* the weaver; *Ráyulása*, the carrier; *Pípá*, the Rajput; *Dhanna*, the Jat; and *Sená*, the barber.† Even their principal men are not necessarily Bráhmans. The Bráhmans who do join them profess to renounce the ties of nature, society, and caste. Their writings are not generally in Sanskrit, but in the vernacular dialects. They are filled with most outrageous fables, many of which are of a very amusing character, as may be seen from the *Bhakta-Málá*, known to many in the North and West of India. Most of the devotees who swarm throughout these regions belong to this sect. The island of Bét, Dwáriká, Okámandal, and Dákor in the Zillah of Khéda (Kaira), are the principal places of their pilgrimage. As I have had a good deal of intercourse with them and other devotees at these places,

Experiences among  
Bairágís, etc.

I may give a brief notice of my experiences among them, extracted from my note books. In company with the late excellent Mr. William Fyvie, of Surat, I arrived at Bét on the 1st of March 1835. The *Bairágís* hospitably gave us lodgings at one of their mathas; and great numbers of them and other religionists were not long in waiting upon us. We found that, with few exceptions, they belonged to the Vaishnava sects (including the *Vallabhachárya*). Most of them were merely visitors of the sacred isle, where a great many Vaishuava legends have been localized. They had establishments and accommodations at various dharmashálas and mathas as those of Prántanátha, Kalpavriksha, Kabír-Choro, Tulasí-Choro, etc., most of which we afterwards visited. Two of them we found to be Sanskrit scholars. They were originally Gauḍa Bráhmans, but had renounced all the privileges of the priestly class on their entering into the order of Rámánanda, whose Sanskrit work entitled the *Rámánandabháshá* they had studied, on becoming exclusively the worshippers of Ráma and Sítá. Unlike many around them, they did not practise austerities, though they belonged to the section called *Nága Vairági* and do not marry, like the members of the other section called *Sanyogí*. They seemed very careful about their sectarial marks, which were formed by the *Gopíchandana*, literally

\* Or *Vairági*, personal form, from *vi-rága* 'without emotion or passion.'

† See H. H. Wilson, p. 55-60.

'the sandalwood of the Gopís,' but really a kind of clay found at Posutra on the east of the island. All classes of Bairágís, we observed, have many attractions at Bét, the principal temples of which are all shrines of different forms of Kṛishṇa and the members of his family and his companions. One of these temples, called Shankhanáráyana, is said to be built over the exact spot where Vishnu before the present creation in the Fish Avatára, recovered the Védas which had been stolen by the Shankhásura, or Conch Devil. Near it is the *Kalpavriksha*, the tree which yields better than golden apples, the fulfilment of all human desires. It is an *Andansonia digitata*, of which there are many specimens in Bombay and the Northern Konkan, into which it was introduced from Mozambique by the Portuguese; but by the Bairágís who had made a sleeping chamber for four in its decaying trunk, it is said to be eternal. So holy do the Bairágís and the Bráhmans associated with them consider Bét to be that they do what they can to prevent the *Antyaja* (born-at-the-extremity) natives from landing upon it. They seized one of my servants who belonged to this class, when he attempted to go on shore. They told me that if he were permitted to land there, they would have to sweep the whole island. I invited them to get their besoms without delay, as another of my servants, whose caste they had not detected, was going about at large, though of the Dhéd class. After leaving Bét, we sailed to A'rámra on the coast of Okámandal, where we saw a company of Bairágís, get the holy stamps of the locality applied to their shoulders by blistering-plates of heated iron, one of which left the impression of the lotus (sacred to Vishṇu) and the other the name of the place. They all winced much when the printing was effected, and a sharp whip was applied to their bare shoulders, in one or two strokes, to withdraw their attention for a minute from their more serious sores. The Bairágís gave each a few pice to the blacksmith who officiated under the superintendence of a Bráhman. The demand from ordinary pilgrims, for the *Chápá* (stamp), we were told, varied from one to twelve rupees, according to circumstances. When after passing through Okámandal we reached *Dváríká*, or *Gomati*, we had a host of Bairágís to deal with. They complained of the small allowances granted them by the Gáikawád, while the Gáikawád authorities complained of the expense which they were put to in their behalf. One of them, with the hair of his head and beard nearly as white as snow, professed to be 150 years of age; and was a great marvel in the place. Another of them I found to be an excellent Sanskrit scholar, of liberal views, with a commendable spirit of inquiry. They all held that the present *Dváríká* is not the city said to have been built by Kṛishṇa, which they represented as covered by the ocean west of Mángarol. Náb-háji in the *Bhakta-Vijaya* says, that Pípa, the Rajput disciple of Rámánanda, when he visited this district along with his master, plunged into the sea to visit the submarine shrine of Kṛishṇa, where he got an affectionate reception from the god. This Pípa, indeed, is set forth as a wonderful devotee. Meeting in a forest a furious lion one day, he hung a rosary round his neck, whispered in his ear the mantra of Ráma, and made him tranquil in a moment. He then lectured him on the impropriety of devouring men and cows, and sent him away a penitent! At the ancient Girnára, I found great numbers of Bairágís. They have there extensive establishments. Among these are the curious *Bíja Mángís* and *Hákís*, both offsets of the Vaishnavas. The *Hákís* or *Bhasmaráús* keep their bodies smeared with clay and ashes, and wear the *jatá* or braided hair, after the fashion of the Shaivas. All the shrines of Vishṇu in Káthiawád seem to be in alliance with one another. It is otherwise

with that of Dákor, which I did not visit till 1840. The temple there seems to be their rival. The Bráhmans in charge of it maintain that the god Kṛishṇa has forsaken Dváríká, on account of some Muhammadan pollution, and taken up his abode at Dákor.

*The Kabír Panthís.*

Among the twelve reputed disciples of Rímánanda, as just mentioned, was the weaver *Kabír*, who (the name being Arabic) is supposed by some to have been originally a Muhammadan. He is said to have lived from 1149 to 1449, that is 300 years! Probably he flourished about the latter date, shortly after which *Nának Sháh*, the founder of the Sikh religion, who was much influenced by him, began to teach. His numerous books show a greater conversancy with Hinduism than with Muhammadanism. They contain many anti-polytheistic, anti-idolatrous and anti-caste passages, but they are often very parabolic and mystical. They have procured for him a great many followers from all castes of Hindus who have really some claim to the character of reformers. Some most interesting extracts from them are given by Professor H. H. Wilson.\* With others of a similar character many are familiar. The great error of Kabír was his pantheism, and his likening of man to God.†

The sect of the Kabír Panthís is split into twelve divisions. The headquarters of one of these, the *Kamál*, are in the suburbs of Bombay, (though little noticed,) and of another, the *Taksálá* at Baroda. The *Kabír Chávadá*s at Dváríká and Benares belong to the Kabír Panthís. "There is no doubt," says Professor Wilson, "that the Kabír Panthís, both clerical and lay, are very numerous in all the provinces of Upper and Central India, except, perhaps, in Bengal itself, the quaker-like spirit of the sect, their abhorrence of all violence, their regard for truth, and the inobtrusiveness of their opinions, render them very inoffensive members of the State; their mendicants also never solicit alms (?), and in this capacity even they are less obnoxious than the many religious vagrants, whom the rank soil of Hindu superstition and the enervating operation of an Indian climate so plentifully engender."

*The Dádu Panthís.*

Allied with the Kabír Panthís, both in doctrine and practice, are the *Dádu Panthís*, who acknowledge Dádu, a cotton cleaner at Ahmadadad who flourished about the year 1600, as their founder. To Captain Siddons we are indebted for the translation of some chapters from their authoritative works, from which I quote a few verses—"Condemn nothing which the Creator hath made. Those are his holy servants who are satisfied with them. We are not Creators, the Creator is a distinct being, he can make whatever he desireth, but we can make nothing. Kabír left Benares and went to Mughor in search of God. Ráma met him without concealment, and his object was accomplished. Dádu sayeth, my earnings are god. He is my food and my supporter; by his spiritual sustenance have all my members been nourished. The five elements of my existence are contented with one food; my mind is intoxicated; hunger leaveth him who worshippeth no other but God. God is my clothing and my dwelling. He is my ruler, my body, and my soul. God ever fostereth his creatures; even as a mother serves her offspring, and keepeth it from harm.

\* Works, Vol. I., pp. 81, 88, 89.

† See H. H. Wilson, p. 91.

Oh God, thou who art the truth, grant me contentment, love, devotion, and faith. Thy servant Dádu prayeth for true patience, and that he may be devoted to thee.\* In the Dádu Panthí writings, there are both Mysticism and Pantheism.

The Dádu Panthís, though of late origin, have already many divisions: Among these are the *Viruktas*, or devotees who go bare-headed with a single water-pot; the *Nájas* who carry arms for the Rajput princes; and the *Vistaraháris*, who follow their several secular occupations.

#### *The Vallabhácháryas.*

The *Vallabhácháryas*, who come next, have acquired a disgusting notoriety throughout India by the famous Mahárája Vallabhácháryas. trial in the Supreme Court of Bombay in 1862. Vallabha was the son of a Bráhman of Tailangná, said to have been born in A.D. 1479, and who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Christian era. He was patronized by Kṛishṇa Déva, king of Vijayanagar; but it was in the north of India that he came into special notice as an A'chúrya or religious teacher. He became a devotee of the god Kṛishna, who, whatever he might be in origin, was soon viewed by the Hindus as the personification of love and lust; and of this god either he himself, or his early followers acting for him, pretended that he was an incarnation. He became the founder of a sect, the principles of which may be learned from the following notices:—"Amongst other articles of the new creed Vallabha introduced one, which is rather singular for a Hindu religious innovator or reformer: he taught that privation formed no part of sanctity, and that it was the duty of the teacher and his disciples to worship their deity, not in nakedness and hunger, but in costly apparel and choice food, not in solitude and mortification, but in the pleasures of society and the enjoyment of the world. The *Gosávis*, or teachers of his sect, are almost all family men, as was the founder Vallabha, for, after he had taken off the restrictions of the monastic order to which he originally belonged, he married, by the particular order, it is said, of his new god. The Gosains are always clothed with the best raiment, and fed with the daintiest viands by their followers, over whom they have unlimited influence"—(Essays on the Hindu Religion; by H. H. Wilson). "The sect of the Vallabháchárya is a new sect, inasmuch as it has selected the god Kṛishṇa in one of his aspects, that of his adolescence, and raised him to supremacy in that aspect. It is a new sect, in as far as it has established the *Pusthṭi-Márga* or way of enjoyment in a natural and carnal sense. The god Kṛishṇa is worshipped by its members in the form of images, and in the form of the persons of their gurus, the so-called Mahárájas"—(Examination of the Rev. Dr. Wilson before the Supreme Court of Bombay, 8th February 1862). These gurus or Mahárájas (for they have usurped a royal title) comprehend all the descendants of Vallabha. They are viewed by a great many of their followers as incarnations of the head of Kṛishṇa, and as intermediate between Kṛishṇa and his worshippers. In their alleged religious authorities it is said, "We should regard our guru as God; for if God get angry, the Guru Déva is able to save from the effects of God's anger, whereas if the guru is displeased, nobody is able to save from the

\* Journal of the Asiatic Society, Vol. vi., reprinted in Dr. Rost's edition of H. H. Wilson on the Hindu Sects.

effects of the guru's displeasure." To Kṛiṣṇa, through the Mahārājas, the Vallabhāchāryas dedicate their body, soul, and property (*tana, mana, and dhana*); and large numbers of them have allowed them access to their wives and daughters. The practice of gross immorality (with the supposed sanction of religion) has been the consequence. A calm reprobation of this immorality by Karsandās Muljī, the enlightened and able editor of a native paper advocating reform, brought a prosecution upon him for libel, which occupied the attention of the Supreme Court of Bombay for twenty-four days, but which issued in his more than substantial justification. On this occasion the prosecutor was a Mahārāja, named Jadunāthji, who was himself accused of perjury, in denying his own loathsome practices, by both the judges, Sir Matthew Sausse and Sir Joseph Arnould. The disclosures made in the case were of a most extraordinary character, the most astounding, in some respects, perhaps, ever made in a court of justice. A photograph of five Vallabhāchāryas was produced at the trial and afterwards published. A peculiar interest is to be attached to it, as will be readily understood from the preceding notices. It will be observed by those inspecting it, that the parties whom it represents wear their hair as women, and have such ornaments on their persons, extending to their toes, as in India are worn only by the female sex. Their object in this is to characterize themselves as gopīs (herd-women devoted to Kṛiṣṇa); and to indicate that women united to them are joined only to the god Kṛiṣṇa. The system of faith and practice with which the Vallabhāchāryas are connected was warmly and powerfully reprobated by the Bombay judges, especially by Sir Joseph Arnould, who acquitted himself on the occasion with great power and eloquence.\* It is professed by several hundred thousands of Hindus in the north-west of India; but it is now attacked by a hopeful body of determined reformers, including several individuals of great influence in the native community. Commendable action has been taken against the "Brāhmaṇī Bulls" supporting it, by H. H. the Mahārāja of Jayapur and H. H. the Rāo of Kachh.

#### *The Madhvāchāryas.†*

The *Madhvāchāryas*, though little known in the north of India, occupy a most important position in the peninsula. For the following account of their founder and the institutions which he originated, I am principally indebted to my inquisitive and observant friend R'ō Bahādūr Tirmalr'ō Venkatesh Ināmdār:—"Sarvajna-A'chārya is known by several other names—Shrīmad-A'chārya, Madhva-A'chārya [his most common name] and Pūrṇa-Bodha, Pūrṇa-Prajna, A'nanda-Tīrtha. He is said to have been an incarnation of Hanumān [or rather of Vāyu, the wind reputed to have been previously incarnate as Hanumān and Bhīma]. He established three Maṭhas (monasteries), one at Uḍapī near Mangalur, another at Madhyatīl, and the third at Subrahmaṇya, and appointed a priest of the

\* A detailed History of the Mahārāja Sect and of the Proceedings in the Supreme Court of Bombay, by the late excellent Karsandās Muljī, was published by Trübner & Co. in 1865. It is well worthy of serious study by all Indian philanthropists. It contains an engraving of the photograph above referred to. The proceedings of the Court are given in full in the Oriental Christian Spectator for 1862.

† Madhvāchārya is not to be confounded with Mādhavāchārya, the author of the Sarva-Darshana-Sangraha and other works.

Sannyásí order to each of them, and called them the Svámís of those respective institutions, or Maṭhas, as the natives term them. The successors of the Svámís of the two latter Maṭhas have some disciples of their own, and have formed themselves into two different sects. But they are very few, and inhabit the coast of Kánara in the Mangalur districts. Still fewer of the people are found above the Gháts. Sarvajna subsequently modified the establishment of the Maṭha at Uḍapí by dividing it into eight Maṭhas and appointing a Svámí to each, with directions that each Svámí should worship the image of Kṛishṇa, in the temple of Uḍapí, for a period of two years. The names of the eight Maṭhas are Svádí (near Shirasí), Puttagí, Adhmár, Pejávár, Pulmár, Kṛishṇapur, Sivur and Konnur. This arrangement is continued in force up to this day, amongst the successors of those eight Svámís, so that the same Svámí, or his successor, gets his turn of two years in his course. Every such change of the Svámís is called a Paryáya, and happens once in two years on the occasion of the sun entering the sign Makara, when a very great fair is held at Uḍapí, where hundreds of thousands of people gather together to give offerings to the idol. The Svámí, whose turn expires, quits the temple with the greatest sorrow, as he is not sure that he will live fourteen years more to perform the worship again; whilst he whose term commences takes charge of the worship with equal pleasure, as during his tenure of office he gets immense profits from the pilgrims who resort to the shrine. These eight Svámís have separate followers of their own, who have formed themselves into eight different sects.

“Madhváchárya superintended the whole of the above ten Maṭhas, and ordained that their respective Svámís should exercise their authority below the Gháts, but not above them; whilst he himself travelled over all India with four favourite disciples [Padmanábhathírtha, Naraharítírtha, Mádhavathírtha, Akshobhyathírtha] and was acknowledged as the Jagad-guru or priest of the Vaishṇavas on earth. He wrote thirty-seven original Sanskrit works on theology and religion, which are still in existence. In them he has laid down particular rules for the guidance of his followers. He held controversies with several other religionists, and is said to have defeated them all. After an uninterrupted rule of 80 years he renounced all his priestly power in favor of Padmanábhathírtha, the chief of his four disciples, and went alone to a place called Badarikáshrama in the Hinálayas, where it is supposed that he is still alive. This happened on the 9th Mágha Shuddha of the Sháliváhana Era 1119 (A.D. 1197). He was certainly a great man; and his name is much revered among the followers of Vishṇu till the present time, and is religiously remembered by offerings made every day before meals. In commemoration of his name the anniversary of his departure to Badarikáshrama is kept up among all the Vaishṇavas till the present day.”

The opinions of the Madhva sect may be learned from the Madhva-Vijaya. They identify Vishṇu with the Supreme Spirit, whom they endow with real attributes. They distinguish between *Paramátmá* and *Jívátmá*, that is between the Supreme Spirit and Life. *Paramátmá* and *Jívátmá* they hold to be *nitya* or everlasting; but *Paramátmá* they consider *svatantra* or independent, and *Jívátmá* to be *asvatantra* or no independent (not *Paramátmá*). They do not believe in the doctrine of absorption after death; and are thus dualists. God, they say, voluntarily united himself with *Máyá* or *Prakṛiti* and produced the

Triad and the universe. They are unfriendly to the Śmārtas, though it is probable that Madhva himself was educated by the Shaivas. They are now divided into nineteen Tatas, three of which, however, are viewed as of more importance than the rest. Of these parties Mr. Tirmal says, "All the people of the aforesaid nineteen sects eat and intermarry with each other; but a follower of one sect will on no account follow the priest or Svāmī of another in religious matters. The Svāmī of each sect brands his disciples, including their women and children even as young as twelve days old, with two red-hot copper seals of the form of the Chakra and Shankha on his first seeing them, and on other important occasions, as an emblem of their attachment to Viṣṇu. Proselytes are admitted from any one to all the other sects, as also from the pure Dēśhastha Śmārta Brāhmins. The corpses of Svāmīs, or chief priests, as also those who become Sannyāsīs, are not burnt like those of all others; but are buried, and tombs are erected over them if it can be afforded. People go and worship the tombs afterwards." The Mādhvāchārya devotees are sometimes in Bombay, and may be easily recognized. They wear a wrapper of an ochre colour, and go about bare-headed, or covered by a simple cap and (in the case of those who have made vows) carrying a staff and water-pot.

*The Jnānadēva Panthīs of Alandī.*

"Dnyānóbā or Jnānadēva was a Brāhman, whose head-quarters were at Alandī, north of Púná, where a shrine, much frequented, is now consecrated to his memory. He is highly venerated, especially by the priestly fraternity, in the Mahārāshtra, and is the author of a paraphrase, in the Oví metre, of the Bhagavad-Gítá, designated from himself the *Jnāneshvarī*, or Opus Jnāneshvari. It is found, also, in a greatly abridged form. It is full of poetical forms of words differing from those of the language of conversation, and some of its vocables are now obsolete; but it is intelligible to the student. It bears the date of Shaka 1212 (A.D. 1290), and is possibly of that age. Its founder Jnānóbā seems to have belonged to a family noted for its learning. Nivṛitī, his elder brother; Sopāndēva, his younger brother; and Muktabāī, his sister, are, with himself, mentioned with respect. Indeed, the whole family has attained to the apotheosis,—he, as an incarnation of Viṣṇu; Nivṛitī, as an incarnation of Brahmā; Sopāndēva, as an incarnation of Shīva; and Muktabāī, as an incarnation of Brahmī!"\*

The religious views of Jnānóbā are, strictly speaking, those of the Gítá, which are so well known. Though the designation of the *Jnānadēva Panthīs* is in the mouths of thousands, and though there are many mendicants, bearing this designation, who perambulate the country in his name, no settled confraternity has been founded of these Panthīs. The Jnānóbā Jattrā at Alandī has a large attendance; but certainly it does not nearly reach the figure of a lakh, at which by some it has been estimated. The educated youth of the West of India don't seem to relish the traditions of the place. They don't, for instance, stomach the legends of Jnānóbā having ridden about mounted on a piece of wall, or of his feet having moved from his body about a kos on the way to Púná. The religious gathering at Alandī is fast passing into a mercantile fair, and in not a very inconvenient fashion from its proximity to Púná. But dreadful outbreaks of cholera have been sometimes its consequence.

\* See Notes on the Maráthī Language (by the author of this paper) prefixed to the second edition of Molesworth's Dictionary.

*The Várakarís of Pandharpur.*

The *Chaitanyas* of Bengal are represented in the Maráthá Country by the Várakarís of Pandharpur. *devotees*, (or *Várakarís* \* as they are often called,) of the god *Vithala* at Pandharpur. Tukáráma, the celebrated poet, singer, and devotee who flourished in the time of Shivájí, the founder of the Maráthá empire, was a follower of Chaitanya, and extensively propagated his views in the Maráthá Country, † though with less reference to him as an authority than might have been expected. His praise of *Krishna* is of a preferential and rapturous character; and the various gods of the Hindu Pantheon he mainly concentrates in him, localizing him in his principal manifestation as *Vithala* at Pandharpur on the *Bhímá*, and in a shrine supposed by some (without decided proof as it appears to me) to have originally belonged to the Buddhists. A *Bráhma*n named *Pundalik* seems to have had great influence in bringing this shrine and its images of *Vithala* and his wife *Rakhamaní* (the *Rukhmani* of the Sanskrit books) into notice and celebrity. I am not aware that there is any form of initiation into the tenets of Tukáráma; but they are very extensively embraced in the Maráthá Country. The Pandharpur pilgrims are very numerous, especially among the inhabitants of the Dakhan. The cholera frequently breaks out among them, and is spread by them throughout the land, to the destruction of hundreds and thousands. An occurrence which took place a few months ago may perhaps set some limits to their numbers. I mention it according to the most creditable testimony which I have received. Growing jealousy of the celebrity of the Pandharpur shrine, it is supposed, has for some time been cherished by the votaries of the great Shaiva idols in the southern parts of India. Three *Gosávis* from the south, influenced by this feeling, entered the temple of *Vithobá*, with stones (as they proved to be) in the form of the usual metallic boxes suspended from the necks of *Lingáyats*, pulled them over their heads, and began to belabour the image of the god without mercy. Before they could be stopped they effected serious injuries in its face, belly, and feet. They were soon caught, and afterwards most severely beaten, but no person was found ready to venture on a prosecution of them before the Magistrate of the District, ready to do what is right in the case on the principles of toleration recognized by the British Government. The news of this *anurtha* ('catastrophe') spread with telegraphic rapidity throughout the west of India. Its indications have been variously interpreted. It is perhaps the most extraordinary case of the votaries "of *Hara* versus those of *Hari*," which has occurred in India. The violence exercised on both sides in the case is much to be regretted.

*The Satnámís.*

The *Satnámís* (with the sandhi *Sadnámís*) or *Ráyadásís* are making great progress in several of the Central and Western Provinces of India (as in *Chatisgadhi*), especially among the *Chámblhárs*, or *Chamárs*, to whom *Ráyadása* is said to have belonged. Recognizing the *Ráyadásís* and *Sadnámís* as two allied sects, and noticing the fact of a few of them being found in West Berar, Mr. Lyall, C.S., correctly says, "Both sects are known both in Hindustán and the Panjáb, and as their votaries

\* Dependants on the allowances furnished to them on pilgrimage, from *Vára*, a day.

† See Introduction to Tukáráma's Poems by Janárdan Sakharam Gádgil, LL.B., and "Address to India" by Dr. Wilson, p. 36.

belong mainly to the lowest castes, while their tendency is against idolatry and Pharisaic intolerance, it is of importance to watch the spread of this resistance to corrupt, and conservative Bráhmaṇism.\* It is of importance, on the other hand, to bear in mind that these sects, so far as they follow the principles of their founders, are pantheists and not theists.

Two Vaishnava sects more important than those now mentioned are altogether omitted in the valuable work of Professor H. H. Wilson—the *Followers of Náráyana Svámí* and the *Mánabhávas*.

#### *Náráyana Svámítes.*

*Náráyana Svámí*, or rather *Sahájánanda Svámí*, was born about the year 1780 at Chapáí in the Lakshnawa territories. His studies were much quickened by his visits to a remarkable shrine at Makorá, about four kos from his birth-place. In the year 1800 he began to sit at the feet of Rámánanda Svámí at Lohoj in the Panchála Désha. His preceptor proceeded from that place to Almadábád in Gujarát about the year 1804, where he was soon joined by his pupil. Sahájánanda began to practise something like mesmerism. He awakened much persecution against himself, which added greatly to his notoriety. He found refuge at Jaitapur in the Gaikawád's territories, where his teachings were directed in a marked manner against the Vallabhachárya or Mahárája sect, yet supporting the preferential worship of Krishna. He attracted to himself hundreds and thousands of people of varied castes. He is said to have received great literary assistance from Dinanátha, a Ráyakavála Bráhmaṇ. He afterwards settled at Charotar, between Khédá and the mouth of the Mahí, where a little before his death, in 1829 or 1830, a temple was built to Lakshmí Náráyana. Bishop Heber, who had an interview with him at Khédá, found in him what he calls "a strange mixture of pure Theism and Hinduism"; but considered him entitled to the designation of a Reformer. His own *śikshápatra* (popularly ascribed to Dinanátha), or Epistle of Instructions; a copy of which presented by him to Sir John Malcolm (now my property), does not permit us to form such a favourable opinion of him as that which is expressed by the accomplished and benevolent bishop. The following are a few of its injunctions in an abbreviated but accurate form—"Except at Jagannátha Purí unacceptable food or water prepared by a person of inferior caste is not to be taken, even though it may have been presented to Krishna (19). The Shástras in which Krishna and his incarnations are confuted are not to be acknowledged (29). The water and milk in an impure state should not be drunk; bathing, etc., should not be made with water with minute animalcules in it (30). My male followers should make on the forehead a vertical mark with a round spot in it like the moon; and women unmarried should make a circular mark of red powder only (52). Having respectfully bowed to the images of Rádhá and Krishna let them repeat reverently the mantra (of eight syllables), and then engage in wordly business (54). Nothing should one eat or drink without its being first offered to Krishna (60). Never hold a discussion with your Achárya, but reverently provide him with food, money, and clothes according to your ability (71). A pilgrimage should be performed to Dváríká, the chief Tírtha. (83) Vishnu, Shíva, Ganapati, Párvatí, and the Sun, forming the Pancháyatana, should be worshipped by my followers (84). When injury from ghosts, etc., occurs, Náráyana should be invoked, or the mantra of Hanumán repeated, and

\* Report on the Census of West Berar. Supplement to *Gazette of India*, 1868, p. 946.

not that of any inferior (kshudra) deity (85). The Vélas, the Sūtras of Vyása, the Purána called the Shrimad-Bhágavata, and the thousand names of Vishnu from the Mahábhārata, and the Shrimad-Bhagavad-Gítá, and the Vidúr-Nítí, and the Shri-Vásudéva Mahátmya of the Vaishnava Khanda of the Skanda Purána, and the legal Smrití of the Rishi Yajñavalkya, are the eight chosen true Shástras (93-95). The fifth and tenth sections (of the Bhágavata) are respectively my *bhaktishástra*, *gogushástra*, and *dharmashástra*. The commentary of Rámánuja on the Bhagavad-Gítá is approved by me as a treatise on the soul (100). Vairágya is a dislike of every thing except *Krishna* (104). My tenet is the *Vishishtádvaita*,\* and the desired heaven is Golóka, where the service of Kṛishna in the form of Brahma [as opposed to absorption] is muktí or liberation (121). A tenth part of the money and grain received as income by my followers should be given to Kṛishna, and a twentieth part to the poor (121). Those who are associated with me should daily recite this epistle or hear it recited by others. In the want of a reader, they should worship with great respect at my word and my image (208, 209)."

This is unmistakable Hinduism, though it is Hinduism greatly curtailed and simplified. It is this curtailment and simplification of a vast system of faith and practice, difficult of comprehension and retention in the mind, which, I am persuaded, is one of the most powerful causes of the rapid spread in modern times of Indian sectarianism. The reasons of the preference of Kṛishna are too apparent to require comment. Let the native reformers beware of inconsiderately encouraging the numerous messengers of Svámí Náráyaṇa now perambulating Gujarát.

#### *The Mánabhavas.*

The *Mánabhavas*, like the sect now mentioned, are devotees of Krishna, male and female. My information of them is derived principally from intercourse with some of their principal men, whom I have met in the Nizam's country and the province of Khándesh. Their chief gurú has his head-quarters at Karinjá, about eighteen kos from Amaravatí in Berar, where he generally resides during the four months of the rains. Some years ago he had trained and initiated about 300 disciples, who wander about instructing multitudes in his peculiar tenets. He himself is a wanderer during the greater part of the year, riding generally in a palanquin or on the back of an elephant or horse, and receiving contributions, generally in money, from his constituents. His subordinate teachers give him all that they obtain, except what is needed by themselves for food and clothing. They are vegetarians, their food, they say, being *annam*, rice, gram, &c., while *madyamāṃsa*, (intoxicants) and flesh are forbidden (*vivarjita*). They wear no tuft on the crown of their heads, or moustachios, and don't suffer their beards to grow to any length. Black is the favourite colour of their dress, which consists principally of a blanket five cubits in length, in which they wrap themselves, and a turban tinged with black, or *shámaraṅga*, dark blue. Their book-readers do not, however, refuse an *angarakhá* (coat) when it is presented to them. Their favourite authority is the Bhagavad-Gítá. They observe no festivals but those of the Gokulashṭamí in the month of Shrávana and the Dattátréya in Mārgashísha. The official name of their A'cháryas is Kavishvara. Each A'chá-

\* See page 26 above.

rya elects his successor from the most learned and devoted of his followers. When he comes into office he takes his seat upon a gádí (or cushion of state) like a prince. He gives no salutation to those who approach him; but he extends to them his blessing in a form of words, which I have copied, said to be taken from the Padma Purāṇa. They are very unwilling to reveal their mantra. One of their principal men when I was pressing him on this subject, but who was unwilling to give me the information which I wanted from him, quoted this verse in defence of his silence :—

आयुर्वित्तं गृहच्छिद्रं मंत्रमैथुनभेषजं ॥

दानमानापमानंच नवगोप्यानि कारयेत् ॥

(Your) age, wealth, domestic deficiency, mantra, affairs of privacy, medicaments, charity, honour, and dishonour," are nine secrets which should be kept as such. He ultimately, however, wrote down his mantra for me (at Phaltan near the River Nírā, a place often frequented by the Mánabhavas). It was in these words — कृष्ण नामजप चरणारविंद, भज "Worship, in the name of Kṛishṇa, his lotus feet." Though they profess celibacy, many of them are known to be addicted to temporary marriages, and to be dissolute in their habits. They add to their numbers by taking under their care children devoted to the gods in fulfilment of vows, as well as by the teachings of their bands wandering throughout the country. Mr. M. A. C. Lyall, C.S., late Commissioner of West Berar, says they are connected with the Jaya Kishanías of the Panjáb; but one of their principal Maṭhas is at Ríthapur near Elichapur. Kṛishṇa is considered by the Mánabhavas to be now *nirākāra* (without form), though they say he has assumed three *avatāras*—one for instructing Matsyakuṇḍa of the Surya Vansha, in the Satya Yuga; one for instructing Yadu Chakravarti of the Soma Vansha, in the Trétá; and one for instructing Arjuna, in the Dvápāra. Their legendry seems to a considerable extent to be peculiar to themselves. They profess to be opposed to idolatry; but they have their own reservations in this matter. They are decided pantheists. They are no favourites of the Bráhmans. They seem to be on the increase in the Maráthá districts. They form now a considerable community.

#### *The Shaira Sects.*

The great founder of the *Shaira Sects* was undoubtedly *Shankaráchárya* who was born probably in the eighth century of the Christian era. He is represented as having been originally a Námburí Bráhmaṇ of the Kérala-Déshta, or Malabar. Though an extensive literature is attributed to him, he seems to have been of an erratic disposition, and to have travelled through a great part of India. Three Maṭhas in Southern India bear his name, one of which is at Shṛingiri in the Maisur; another at Kúdalgí, in the same Province, near the junction of the Tunga and the Bhadra, and the other at Shankéshvara in the Southern Maráthá Country. Towards the close of his life he visited Kashmír, Badarikáshrama, and Kédarnátha where he is reported to have died at the early age of thirty-two. He is said to have had four pupils (*Padmapála*, *Hastámalaka*, *Saréshvara* or *Mandana*, and *Troṭaka*) who respectively among themselves had other ten learners (*Tírtha* and *A'shráma*; *Vana* and *Aranya*; *Sarasvati*

† For a somewhat different reading, see Hitopadesha, 140.

and *Purí*; *Bhárati* and *Giri*; *Párvata* and *Ságara*) who are esteemed the patriarchs of the *Dashnámí* or *Dandi* (Staff), Shaiva Sect. Three and a half of these ten classes are esteemed purer than the remainder who called themselves *Atítas*, 'past away,' or 'liberated' (from worldly cares or feelings). With these classes are connected the *Yogís* or *Jogís*, who profess to practise the *Yoga*, and who by various austerities, positions, and practices pretend that they thus get the victory over the senses, and reach the abstraction which issues in final absorption into the deity. Among the *Yogís*, the *Kánaphátas* or 'Split Ears,' the disciples of *Gorakhanátha*, are very conspicuous. They have a special establishment of their own in *Kachh*, described by the late Captain Postans; and occasionally individuals of the fraternity are found wandering about in the *Bombay Presidency*. A *Yogí*, well instructed in English and Sanskrit, appeared in *Bombay* a few years ago. He stated to *Dr. Bláu Dáji* and myself, that on the occasion of a severe illness he had had, he was supposed by his relatives to have died, and that as they had performed the funeral rites for him, they could not again receive him into caste, when he revived. He was on a journey, when we saw him, to the great *Tírthas* of *India*. His practice of the *Yoga*, he said, was only "experimental;" while he was not finding himself making progress in his aim at utter forgetfulness of mundane objects. The majority of the *Bráhmans* of the *Indian Peninsula* acknowledge one or other of the successors of *Shaukaráchárya* as their *Swámí*. Though they are *Shaivas* they denominate themselves *Smártas*, observers of the *Smritis*; and acknowledge, more or less, all the gods of the *Indian pantheon*.

The following is a summary of the tenets of *Shankaráchárya*:—*Paramátmá*, the Supreme Spirit, essentially viewed, is both *nirguna*, destitute of qualities, and *nirákara*, without form. He is acted upon, however, by two proximate affinities (*upádhis*) *máyá* and *avidyá*, illusion and non-cognition or ignorance. *Máyá* is *shuddha*, pure; but *avidyá* is impure. *Máyá* and *avidyá* are *anádi sidhá*, fixed (*existent*), without-a-beginning. *Paramátmá* when joined (*sañsrijyate*) to *máyá* is *Ishvara*, the Supreme Lord. *Paramátmá* joined to *avidyá* is life or vitality (*Jíva*). *Paramátmá* is like *ákasha*, ether or air; *máyá* is like a house; *avidyá* is like a vessel. *Ishvara* is like the *ákasha* in a house. *Jíva* is like the *ákasha* in a vessel. Break a vessel to pieces, and only *ákasha* will remain; wherefore *Paramátmá* and *Jíva* are a unity. If it be asked, how is *sáñkalpa*, thought, united to *Jíva*, the reply is, that it arises from the *yoga* (conjunction) of *avidya* with *Jíva*. *Paramátmá* is like iron; *Paramátmá* with *Máyá* is like a loadstone. *Sáñkalpa*, thought, is a *Kriyá*, an act or an effect. *Sáñkalpa* may be either *shuddha*, or *ashuddha*, pure or impure. It is pure to *Ishvara* and impure to *Jíva*. The *Antaryámí*, 'the interior witness' of men is a direct portion of deity. There is no Duality. If you will practise *Mánasapújá*, say—

देहबुध्या तु दासोहं । जीवबुध्या त्व दंशकः  
आत्मबुध्या त्वमेवाहं । इति मे निश्चला मतिः

'According to the judgment of the body, I am thy servant; according to the judgment of the living principle, I am a portion of thyself; according to the

judgment of myself or spirit thou (illusively supposed to exist) art I. This is my unchangeable creed. There is nothing but the Ego. *Muktí*, (liberation) follows the realization of this unity. This pantheism of the great Indian sophist is ultimately destructive of all morality, making man's sin, God's sin; man's ignorance, God's ignorance; and man's suffering, God's suffering.

In reference to the Shankéshvar Svámí, the following note, according to *Native Opinion*, appeared in the *Belgáum Samákhár* of the 12th June 1865:—

“The Shankéshvar Svámí (the high priest of the Shívites) has a good knowledge of the Védas. We have also observed that he possesses a fair degree of worldly knowledge. But this does not qualify him for his office..... He was here in Belgáum about eighteen months ago, when we had an opportunity of ocularly observing the state of his establishment. ‘To-day we have a feast at this man's, to-morrow at that man's: the dishes at such and such a party were good, and the ghí at such and such was bad; the present made by such and such a person on the occasion of washing the feet amounted to so much, and we still expect an invitation from such and such a person. We have now collected so much, and expect so much more. This amount cannot certainly fall below this, and we shall be able to save at least this much.’ Throughout the Svámí's establishment everyone, from the highest to the lowest, thinks of nothing but these things. The Svámí himself too is so much engaged in such worldly thoughts that he is very probably not able to go through his daily round of religious duties strictly according to the Shástra.”

*Self-Tormentors.*

<p>Among the Shaiva devotees and mendicants there are some who attract very peculiar attention as self-tormentors. The <i>Paramáhánsas</i>, literally the ‘Supreme Geese’, so called for their professing to contemplate God under the symbol of a goose,—allege that they are insensible to heat and cold, pleasure and pain, satiety and want. Some impostors among them, as was the case about forty years ago at Calcutta, pretend to live without food. The <i>Aghorís</i>, or ‘Horribles’, follow a course of life becoming their name, being hideous in their bodily appearance, and indescribably disgusting in their food. Individual representatives of their class are found at A’bu and the mountains of Gimár. ‘The <i>U’rdvhabáhus</i>, ‘Arms-up-men’, keep one or both of their arms elevated till they are unable again to lower them. Some of these I have seen at various times in Bombay, exciting the wonder of many beholders. The <i>A’káshmukhís</i> keep their faces to the sky till the stiffening of the muscles of their necks prevents them again seeing the earth which they tread. The <i>Bhumímukhís</i> suspend themselves (on trees generally) by the feet, with their heads nearly touching the ground and keep themselves in this position for hours.* The <i>Nakhís</i> cultivate long nails, sometimes extending to the measure of ten</p>	<p>Self-tormentors. The Paramáhansas. The Aghorís. The U’rdvhabáhus. The A’káshmukhís The Bhumímukhís The Nakhís.</p>
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\* Speaking of a village near Khéda in Gujarát, a contributor to the *Oriental Christian Spectator* (March 1843), says: “A Gosávi was there swinging in the sun with his head downwards, a practice continued two hours daily for the last four years, that he may obtain forgiveness of sins.” Most of the habitual self-tormentors whom I have met among the devotees of India have stated, in reply to my interrogatories, that it was not the fear of sin, but the desire of the accumulation of righteousness which urged them to their austerities. It is not to be doubted, however, that the idea of doing penance is associated in some cases with these austerities.

or eleven inches, as I have seen at Mumbádévi in Bombay. The *Nágas* are fierce warriors, who often enter into the service of the Native princes. The Vaishṇavas, however, have their *Nágas* as well as the Shaivas. Even they are not wanting among the generally peaceful Kabír-Panthís. The *Mukas*, devoted to the service of various gods, practise silence under vows and often for purposes of extortion. I lately met with a Bairági said to have observed silence for the quarter of a century. The *Pádapáditas* torment themselves by pointed nails in their wooden shoes. The *Dínayátrikas* measure the ground by prostrations of their bodies, often for hundreds of miles, while they proceed to chosen places of pilgrimage.

#### *Immundi.*

I can here scarcely venture to refer to the abominable doctrines and practices of the impure *Sháktas*, devotees and worshippers of the *Shaktís* or female mates of certain of the Dévas and the *Vámamárgis*, or followers of the left hand way. The loathsome tenets of these sects are found in the Sanskrit works called *Tantras*, *Yamalas* and *Rahasyas* for a set of which, for purposes of reprobation, I had some time ago to pay a considerable sum of money. The collection of these *libri execrandi* made by Professor H. H. Wilson is in the Bodleyan Library at Oxford. It is in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies that those who make them their religious standards are principally to be found, though there are several places in the Bombay Presidency, particularly in Sindh, to which they are not altogether strangers. An important work, forming an exposé of what the author calls (in plain English in its preface) "the most filthy, infernal, and obscene superstitions, and pretended miraculous powers of the Mantra Shástrís," using the works here referred to, has lately appeared in Sanskrit and Gujarátí. The author of this work, who does credit to the native bench under the British Government, says, "It is hoped that this publication will induce all those who are concerned in the welfare of this great nation to unite in one common effort to put down the diabolical tenets inculcated by the *Vámi* and *Kaula* sects....It will be a grand triumph to free Hindus from the snares of those knaves who pass by the polite names of Mantra Shástrís and Upásakas, but who deserve to be denounced as enemies to all that is decent, virtuous and moral." The moral plague of the north-west of India is not, it would appear, confined to the Vallabbácháryas.

The *Pavayi* of Kachh and Káthiawád are to be remembered by our officials. Although it is believed that the production of them (for the vilest purposes) has now ceased in these provinces, they are unhappily not wanting in some of the contiguous Native States, if my latest information (of January 1873) be correct.

#### *The Jangamas and the Lingavantas.*

The Jangamas, as their name implies, are the 'wandering' devotees of the sect of the *Lingavantas* or Lingáyats. They are chiefly to be found in the Southern Maráthá Country, the Karnátak, and the Tamil Country, in which it is supposed the distinctive worship of the Phallic symbol of Shiva (not mentioned in the ancient literature of the Hindus) originated. Their great authority is the *Basava Purána*, which derives its name from the *Vrishabha* or bull (alias *Nandi*), the con-

veyance of Shiva. They delight in the title of *Vira Shaiva*, or 'Shivite heroes'. They claimed, about twenty-six years ago, the privilege of carrying their chief priest in a palanquin borne crossways on the roads; but in this they were resisted by the Smárta Svámí of Shringiri, who produced an olden copper *sháshana*, or patent, conferring on him this distinguished privilege of dignity and greatness. A civil law-suit was the consequence, which was ultimately decided by the Queen in Council. The grant recorded in the patent was (in deference to use and wont) by supposition held to be valid, but as no monopoly was established by the grant, the Lingáyats gained the day. Fear of popular disturbance, however, has led to the interdiction of the coveted procession by either of the classes of the unfriendly religionists, as well as that called the *Vyása-tola*, or procession of the "hand of *Vyása*" (the reputed collector of the *Védas* and *Puráṇas*) held up in defiance of the Lingáyats by those who consider themselves orthodox Hindus. The Jangamas meet with support from both the trading and agricultural classes, who belong to the sect with which they are connected.

The principles, belief, and practices of that sect may be best learned from the summary translations from olden Kánarese of the *Basava Purána* and of the *Channa Basava Purána*, both ably executed by the Rev. G. Würth of the German Mission to the Kánarese country, communicated to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by the Hon. W. E. Frere, Esq., and published (in 1868) in Volume VIII. of the Journal of that Society. In the commencement of the first-mentioned of these Puráṇas the question is started, "Is it right to praise *Basava* in a separate form, seeing that [as his conveyancer and companion] he is so perfectly united and identified with Shiva? and answers in the affirmative, alleging that it is proper to praise him, because he being the propagator of Shiva worship on earth, all others derive their happiness from him. And from this he starts for the first time into fulsome praise of *Basava*, out of which we only notice the doctrine that *Basava* is the inseparable companion of Shiva. When Shiva is without shape, *Basava* takes shape; when Shiva enters into a shape, *Basava* is his follower; when Shiva goes about in the disguise of a follower, *Basava* reveres him with the utmost devotion; when Shiva descends to the estate of an ordinary worshipper, *Basava* is his servant. The union of both is exceedingly close, and surpasses even the highest degree of union which is attainable by human devotion. Men may attain those well-known four states of heavenly bliss:—*Sálókya*, *Sámípya*, *Sárúpya*, *Sayujaya*; that is, they may be in the same world with Shiva, in his neighbourhood, partakers of his shape, united with him; but they cannot, like *Basava*, become *Sashiva*, that is one with Shiva."

The Purána, then, in exaltation of *Basava*, proceeds to narrate how he became incarnate in the family of the Bráhmaṇ Mandirája and his wife Madilámbiká, in the village of Baguvári, and to relate his egregiously marvellous sayings and doings in the cause of his lord Shiva, as opposed to the other gods of the Hindu pantheon, and to the system of Bráhmaṇic caste.

When *Basava*, the son of Mandirája and Madilámbiká, had attained the age of eight years, his father wished to invest him with the sacrificial thread, but he refused to be so invested. "I am a worshipper of Shívá," he said, "and do not belong to the generation of Brahma. I am the axe laid to the root of the tree of caste. I cannot comply with your request." Baladéva, then

prime minister at the court of Bijalla of Kalyána [in the Dekhan], was present on this occasion, and it is said gave his daughter Gangádévi in marriage to Basava, who afterwards became an object of persecution by the Bráhmans. An image (*sic arunt*) which conveniently walked out of a temple audibly taught him to "consider those who wear the mark of Shiva, the *Jangamas*, as Shiva incarnate"; to take them for examples in his doings; to treat the Vira Shaivas [distinguished from ordinary Shaivas] as friends, though they might be his enemies; to "punish those who abuse Lingáyats"; to "spread this religion"; "not to eat anything without having first offered it to God;" and "not to desire any one's life or property." To these and similar injunctions was added the declaration, "Know that the Jangama is I". For our present purpose these are almost sufficient explanations of the principles of the Lingáyats. Both the Puráñas, translated or analysed by Mr. Würth, are full of the most egregious fictions and fables.

The second of the Lingavanta Puráñas receives its name from *Channabasava*, the alleged son of Nágálámbiká, the sister of Basava by the *Chitkala* (*divina particula*) of Shiva, the alleged circumstances of whose infantile corporeal manifestation it describes in a most undignified and extravagant form. The author of that Puráña was the Kánarese poet Virápáksha, who, according to Mr. Würth, flourished in the 1,507th year of the era of Sháli-váhana. The summary of the poem is as follows :—

1. "The description of Kailása [the heaven of Shiva]. 2. The visit of Nárada. 3. Birth of Channabasava. 4. The procession. 5. His excellent play. 6. The king's [Visalla's] palace. 7. The description of the town and country. 8. The Shivatatwa, which the priest Channabasava explained to the Siddharáméshvara. 9. The pastime of Shiva, having danced standing on one foot. 10. The most high Soma. 11. Vṛishabha, the vehicle. 12. The grand Linga. 13. The lord who has the form of half a man and half a woman. 14. The cutting off of Brahma's head. 15. The great begging pastime. 16. The Dakshina form. 17. He who puts on the skeleton of Vishṇu. 18. He who takes poison. 19. He who puts on the moon. 20. The destruction of Jalandhara. 21. The giving of the discus. 22. The destruction of Gajásura. 23. Daksha's sacrifice. 24. The destroyer of Vishṇu. 25. The burning of Káma. 26. The marriage of Shiva. 27. The birth of the excellent Kumára. 28. The destruction of Tárakásura. 29. The burning of Tripura. 30. The spring of rejoicing. 31. He who puts on the great Gangá. 32. The destroyer of Andhakásura. 33. The burning of Yama. 34. The pastime of having given the Páshupata weapon to Arjuna. 35. The form that carries superior pleasure with it. 36. The race of the moon and sun. 37. The history of Shiva saints. 38. The order of initiation. 39. The six places. 40. Prophecy. Thus all this is the summary of the excellent story of the Channabasava Puráña from beginning to end. To those who have recited or heard it with superior pleasure and joy; to those who have written, read, and studied it, Channabasavésha, who is called the superior incarnation of the destroyer of cupid [Shiva, the destroyer by indulgence], will always give all pleasure, all enjoyments, and endless happiness and salvation."

Mr. Würth gives as the date of the death of Basava the year of Christ 758; but either he or the printer of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's

Journal must have made a mistake in this matter. The accession of Vijala, or Bijila of the Kálabhurya dynasty (under whose reign both Basava and Channabasava are said to have flourished) is, in Prinsep's Tables, carefully revised by Mr. E. Thomas, and, in the instance referred to, founded on Sir Walter Elliot's Inscriptions, given as occurring in the Sháka year 1078, corresponding with the Christian year 1157, to which the date of the establishment of the Lingáyit form of Shaivism is to be attributed\*. It has to be borne in mind that the Lingáyats denominate themselves *Víra-Shaivas*, or the heroic Shaivas, in contradistinction to the ordinary *Shaivas*. They wear over their necks a very minute *ishtalinga*, prepared soon after birth, enclosed in a metallic box of various forms. By this symbol they are easily distinguished. Though they started their career under Basava with a defiance of caste, they have established a caste system of their own, recognizing many caste divisions in their community, four for example among the *Vánis* or shopkeepers. It is not so strict, however, as that of the ordinary Hindus. They have their own books treating of *A'chára* and *Práyashchitta*, a list of some of which is given in the introduction to Mr. Arthur Steele's Summary of the Law and Custom of Hindu Castes. The Jangams (who are easily distinguished by their cotton dresses of reddish ochre colour) have their *Maṭhas*; but the services of the Lingavanta temples are generally performed by the *A'rádhyá Tailanya Bráhmans*, who have become adherents to their cause. The Jangams can scarcely be called obstreperous beggars. Their wants are generally supplied by the members of their own sect.

A'rádhyas.

In the view of the two Lingáyata Puráñas translated by Mr. Würth, I am strongly inclined to the opinion, first expressed by Mr. William Erskine, that the Caves of Elephanta have a marked connection with Lingavantism; but this is a matter which can be elsewhere discussed.

*The Nának Sháhís or Sikhs.*

This form of faith is a species of Indian neology, admitting the authority of Hinduism, but questioning its polytheistical tenets, and modifying and relaxing its rites and ceremonies, with a view to the recognition of the one Supreme, and assimilation to what is believed to be quiescent bliss, by self-denial and meditation in this life, previous to absorption in the next. It originated with Nának Sháh, a Kshatriya who was born in the year 1469, at a small village called Talwandí, in the province of Láhor. Nának, in early life, professed himself a strict religionist, removed from worldly affairs, and travelled through various countries for the communication of his impressions, and the acquisition of knowledge. The grand attempt which he made as a religious teacher had particularly in view the union of Hindus and Musalmans, by binding them over to the concentration of their regard on the points of faith in which they were agreed, especially the unity and spirituality of God, as set forth, however, by the Pantheistic Vedánta, by which system of philosophy, popularized by Kabír and others, he seems to have been principally influenced. "Born," says Sir John Malcolm, "in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammad, and the idolatrous worship of the

\* This, too, is the date recognized in the excellent History of Belgáum by H. J. Stokes, of the Madras C. S.

Hindus, appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity toward each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union; and he only endeavoured to effect this purpose through the means of mild persuasion." His followers were called *Shishyas* in Sanskrit, or, according to the corruption of the Panjábí language, *Sikhs*, or 'Disciples;' by which name they have continued to be known. He was recognized as their authoritative Guru, or instructor; and his opinions he set forth as the expression of the will of the Divine Being. The record of them is contained in the *A'dí Grantha*, or First Book, which was partly written by himself. He had two sons; but neither of them did he deem worthy of the succession to his spiritual functions. The Gurus by whom he was succeeded, were, in their order, *Guru Angad*, *Amra-Dása*, *Ráma-Dása*, *Arjunmal*, *Har Govind*, *Har Ráya*, *Har Krishna*, *Tegh\* Bahádúr*, and *Guru Govind Singh*. Of these, Arjunmal, Har Govind, and Guru Govind, were the most remarkable for their influence in the Sikh community. The first of them compiled the *A'dí Grantha*, now mentioned, including in it the fragmentary writings of his predecessors, and adding to them many traditional doctrines, and historical and legendary notices, and poetical extracts from various authors, including Náma Deva, an early Maráthí poet.† The second taught the Sikhs to make war in self-defence. The third instigated

Guru Govinda. them to fight for power, wealth, and territory, beseeching them to move particularly against the Muhammadans, who, on their part, seemed determined not only to oppose their progress, but utterly to destroy their union. With the view of inspiring them with a military courage, he got them to change their designation from that of Sikh, a disciple, to that of *Singh*, or *Sîñha*, a lion. While he recognised, in some respects, their original descent from high or low castes, he declared that they were all on a point of equality in the *Khalsá* or state; that their watchword should be *wah! Guruji ká Khalsá; Wá! Guruji ká Fatah*—'Success to the State of the Guru! Victory to the Guru'!—that a weapon of steel should be their symbol, and blue clothing (now worn principally by the enthusiasts called *Akálí*, or immortals) their uniform; and that their liberties as to food should be extended to all kinds of flesh, except that of the cow, so sacred in the eyes of the Hindus. He instituted the *Gurumata*, or State-council, at which their common affairs should be discussed. He composed an additional work, viewed as sacred by the Sikhs, and known by the name of the *Dashamá Pádshha ká Granth*, or the 'Book of the Tenth King', so called from himself as the tenth chief of the confederacy. He died, or was murdered, in the year 1708.

The military propensities of Guru Govind may be, in some degree, accounted for by the circumstances in which, from early life, he was placed. His father, Tégh Bahádúr, had been put to death, at Patna, in the year 1675, by order of the Emperor Aurangzib, the bigotted persecutor of all sects of the Hindus. It was on this occasion that Govind swore eternal enmity to all Muhammadans, and ordered the Sikhs to allow their beards to grow, in open

\* From *Tegh* a sword.

† These extracts I noticed in a copy of the *Grantha* from the Panjáb, taken to Ireland by the Rev. Robert Montgomery, of Surat. See for the contents of a copy at Benares, H. H. Wilson on the Hindu Sects, 264, and on the Sikh Literature Col. Cunningham's excellent History of the Sikhs and Garcin de Tassy's well known *Histoire de la Lit. Hindui et Hindustani*.

assumption of their privileges. He was able to annoy them only by predatory excursions; and it is supposed that he was taken captive by them, and died a prisoner in their hands, in the Dakhan. His tomb there, I believe, is about seventy miles east of Haidarábád. It is in connexion with it as a place of pilgrimage, that considerable numbers of Sikhs visit the Bombay Presidency. Some years ago I got into a calm discussion with one of these pilgrims, which issued in his remaining in Bombay and embracing Christianity.

I do not here enter on the political history of the Sikhs, which reached its zenith under Ranjit Singh and passed away under his sons, the last of whom (H. H. Dulip Singh) has in the sure faith of the Christian a better prospect, as he esteems it, than that of an earthly crown. Nor do I more than simply allude to their sects. The *Udásís* or 'Seclusionists,' the most respected representatives of the Sikh faith, give themselves to meditation, religious exercises, and reading and expounding the Grantha. Less strict than the *Udásís* are the *Govindá Singhas*, who are principally laymen. The *Nirmalas*, or the 'Undeiled,' are meditative celibates who do not live in colleges. Many of them, taking advantage of the rail, attended this year the Jatrá at Tryambak at the source of the river Godávári. The *Nágas* are the naked mendicants of the Sikhs, but are seldom, if ever, seen in the Bombay Presidency. But few Sikhs are in Bombay itself. The new Sikh sect of *Kukás*, 'Howlers or Groaners,' will doubtless occupy a place in the *Panjáb Gazetteer*. I have to acknowledge the receipt of a valuable notice of them by Mr. Roberts of the Civil Service.

#### *Minor Sects of Hindu Neologists.*

Besides the Sikhs there are other classes of Hindu Neologists, such as the *Bábá Lálís*, the *Sáddhas*, *Shiva Náráyants*, etc.; but as their representatives very seldom, if ever, appear in the West of India, they do not require to be here noticed.

On the *Sáddhas*, I would only observe, that after perusing their *Upadésa Patra*, with the loan of a copy of which I have been kindly furnished by the Rev. Dr. Brodhead of the American Mission at Alláhábád, I have found it difficult to determine whether they wish to be considered Theists or Pantheists. On the whole, they appear to incline to Theism.

#### *The Jainas and their Yatis or Jatis.*

The Jainas in their origin, tenets, and aspirations are intimately connected with the Buddhists. *Jina*, the conqueror, of which *Jaina* is the adjective form, is a name of Buddha, as in the Mahávansha of Ceylon, *passim*. Both the Baudhdhas and the Jainas hold the doctrine of the eternity of atoms; and this they both do in common with the Vaishéshikas, the followers of the sage Kanáda. These atoms they view as either having *jíva* life or *ajíva* non-life, along with a natural disposedness to concursion, union, and aggregation, without a Creator or active Providence. They both believe in the dissolution of the universe, caused by the disseveration, in time, of the

combined and organized atoms, and in its renovation caused by the natural disposedness now alluded to. They both exempt from these changes the *Arihantás*, or 'Slayers of the Foes,' who, by regard to *dharma* or essential duty, and *karma* or executed work, obtain *moksha* liberation, or *nirvána* everlasting extinction or everlasting quiescence and elevation. In some writings of the Buddhists, as in the *Mahávanasha* (p. 2), twenty-four Supreme Buddhas are mentioned though but seven are generally retained; while twenty-four is also the alleged number of the *Arihantás* or *Tírtha-kars* (or Tirthankaras) of the Jainas, who have made the transition or passage across the ocean of disturbance, to their entire and never-ending deliverance. Both the Bauddhas and Jainas discard the *Védas* and *Védic* ceremonies. They were originally both opposed to Caste, though the Buddhists, on social grounds, now make a certain recognition of varied castes in Ceylon, and the Jainas now generally consider themselves, when denominated *Shrávakas*, either Kshatriyas or Vaishyas, as the case may be; while they allow their *Yatis* or *Jatis*, religious mendicants and instructors, to be drawn from any of the purer castes, and do not object at the same time to use the Bráhmans as their subordinate ministers in their *Upásrás* (Sanskrit *Upáshrayas*), places of meeting, and as exponents to them of the laws of inheritance, and other laws common to them and other Hindus.\* Both Bauddhas and Jainas acknowledge the existence of the Hindu gods, especially the more ancient of them, though they place them in a subordinate, and to a certain extent contemptible, position. The zeal of both of them for the preservation of life, even in its lowest forms, amounts to fanaticism. The antiquarian remains of the Buddhists in *látas*, *sthpas* and structural temples in Eastern India are more ancient than those of the Jainas. A similar remark may be made on the antiquity of the Buddhist remains in Western India, where excavated *chaityas*, monasteries, hermitages, halls for assembly and instruction, *dharmashálas* and other alms-houses and lodging-houses, architectural and memorial pillars, wells, and tanks, rock and temple inscriptions, etc., etc., are still to be found which are certainly more ancient than any corresponding works of the Jainas. The Buddhist literature, too, takes precedence of that of the Jainas. The unbounded extravagances and enormous exaggerations of the Jainas also show posteriority to the Buddhists in these directions, in their own case. Professor H. H. Wilson justly says:—"A comparison of the Jaina and Bauddha series [of Tirthankaras and Buddhas] suggests strong confirmation of the opinion that the Jaina legends are only Bauddha notions exaggerated."† This remark may be illustrated in the case of the first Buddha (*Vipáshyi*) to whom 80,000 years are ascribed as compared with the first Jina, to whom 8,400,000 years, with a stature of 500 poles, are ascribed. "You see," says Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, to whom we are indebted for the Buddhist literature, "that my Bauddha images [forwarded on a particular occasion to Calcutta] are called *Digambar* [naked or clothed with the sky], a name heretofore fancied to belong to Jainism. I could bring forward many other presumptions in favour of the notion that the Jainas are sectarian Bauddhas who dissented from their Bauddha brethren merely in carrying to a gross

\* This community of law in reference to inheritance was lately declared in a Decision of the High Court of Bombay, very ably expounded by the Chief Justice Sir Michael R. Westropp.

† Works vol. i. p. 290.

excess, and in promulgating publicly, certain dangerous dogmas which the more prudent Buddhists chose to keep veiled from all but the initiated."† In my own intercourse with learned Jainas in the west and north-west of India, I have often found them admit the priority of Buddhism to Jainism, which they have represented as a secession from Buddhism, principally brought about by the departure of the Buddhas from what the Jainas consider purity and propriety. But general remarks of this kind need not be here continued.

The objects of religious recognition by the Jainas are thus set forth in the Jaina Confession or Creed :—

(Maghadí.)	(Sanskrit.)
<i>Namo Arihantānam,</i>	<i>Namaskárostu Arihantebhyah.</i>
<i>Namo Siddhānam,</i>	<i>Namskárostu Siddhbhyah.</i>
<i>Namo A'yariānam,</i>	<i>Namaskárostu A'cháryebhyah.</i>
<i>Namo Uvajjháyānam</i>	<i>Namaskárostu Upádhyáyebhyah.</i>
<i>Namo loé Subba Sáhúnam</i>	<i>Namaskárostu loké Sarvasádháúbhyah.</i>
1. Salutation of the Destroyers of the Foes.	Let there be salutation to the Destroyers of the Foes.
2. Salutation of the Perfected Ones.	Let there be salutation to the Perfected Ones.
3. Salutation of the Observers of the conduct prescribed.	Let there be salutation to the Observers of the conduct prescribed.
4. Salutation of the Instructors	Let there be salutation to the Instructors.
5. Salutation of all the Saints.	Let there be salutation to all the Saints.

This confession is said, in the Kalpa Súra, to be the destroyer of all sin (*sarva pápasya vináshakah*).

The *Arihantás* of the first clause are not the "worshipful ones" as interpreted by several orientalists who have translated *Arihantá* as if it were *Arhata*. It means the Destroyers of the Foes, or obstacles, and is applied to the twenty-four Tirthankaras (or Tirthakars) who have obtained victory and emancipation, or in other words *nirvána*. The designation occurs too in the accusative, in the Kalpa Súra, in the form *Arihantāram*.

The *Siddhas* of the second clause are those who are next in order to the Tirthankaras. They are viewed as nearly perfected in character and discipline, and nigh to the great "translation."

The *A'cháryas* of the third clause, are viewed by Dr. Stevenson, who has thrown much light on Jainism (by the translation of the Kalpa Súra and the Nava Tatva), as "those who regulate our religious services;" but this is putting a Brahmanical rather than a Jaina interpretation on the designation. The Samvégi Sadhují Shrícharitra Pradhána Svámí, the most zealous propagator of Jainism, repudiates the interpretation, and renders it as I have given it above.

† Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists (Serampore 1841) p. 57.

The *Upādhyāyas* are viewed by the Jainas as Instructors and not Priests, domestic or public. The priest properly so called does not find a place in the systems of either Bauddhas or Jainas.

Under the heading of *Sādhus* are comprehended Jaina saints of every kind and degree not otherwise specified.

The names, titles, colours (of the images ?), and emblems of the twenty-four Tirthankaras are as follows :—

No.	Name and Title.	Colour.	Emblem.	Stature in poles.	Lifetime in years.	Place of death.
1	Rishabhadéva or Adishvara ...	Yellow	... Bull ...	500	8,400,000	.....
2	Ajitanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Elephant ...	450	7,200,000	.....
3	Sambhavanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Horse ...	400	6,000,000	.....
4	Abhinandana ... ..	Yellow	... Ape ...	300	5,000,000	.....
5	Sumatinátha ... ..	Yellow	... Curlew ...	250	4,000,000	.....
6	Padmaprabhu ... ..	Red	... Red Lotus ...	200	3,000,000	.....
7	Supárshvanáthá ... ..	Yellow	... Svastiza ...	150	2,000,000	.....
8	Chandraprabhu or Chandra-nátha ... ..	White	... The Moon ...	150	1,000,000	.....
9	Pinshpadanta ... ..	White	... Crocodile(?) .	100	200,000	.....
10	Sitalanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Shrivatsa ...	90	100,000	.....
11	Shréyanshanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Rhinoceros ...	80	.....	.....
12	Vásupújya ... ..	Red	... Buffalo ...	70	.....	.....
13	Vimalanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Boar ...	60	.....	.....
14	Anantanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Hawk ...	50	.....	.....
15	Dharmanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Club ...	45	.....	.....
16	Shántinátha ... ..	Yellow	... Antelope ...	40	100,000	.....
17	Kunthunátha ... ..	Yellow	... Goat ...	35	195,000	.....
18	Aranátha ... ..	Yellow	... Nandavartta.	30	.....	.....
19	Malanátha ... ..	Blue	... Jar ...	25	20,000	.....
20	Manásavrataprabhu (or Suvrata) ... ..	Black	... Tortoise ...	20	.....	.....
21	Námanátha ... ..	Yellow	... Blue Lotus ...	15	10,000	Samat Shikhas.
22	Néminátha ... ..	Black	... Conch ...	10	1,000	Mount Girnar.
23	Párshvanátha ... ..	Blue (White)	Serpent ...	.....	100	.....
24	Vardhamána or Mahávíra ... ..	Yellow	... Lion ...	.....	72	Pápapuri.

The titular appendages to the names of these Tirthankaras (as *nátha*, *prabhu*, *deva*, etc., etc.), generally speaking, are intended to convey only the meaning of "Lord." There are some variants connected with them, however. Thus we have *Némirajarshi*, the royal Rishi Nemi. Only Párshvanátha and Vardamána are supposed to be historical personages, though a Rishabha was not unknown in ancient India. I have had a seal cut in cornelian in the cave and *sháshana* character of about the sixth century, A.D., containing the inscription *Shrú-Vardhamánasya*. It may have belonged to one of his hereditary representatives in Káthiáwád, where it was found.

The Religious Devotees and Mendicants of the Jainas, who occupy the highest place in their community, are denominated The Yatis or Jatis. *Yatis* or *Jatis*, literally Wanderers. It is not expected of them that they should long remain in one place, but move from city to city

and from province to province. They are sometimes denominated *Sádhus* or Saints, among whom are also female Nuns, wholly dependent on the members of the Jaina community for their food and clothing, which they generally solicit but once a day, but they often succeed in collecting large sums of money for erecting *Apásrás* or *Chaityas*, dharmashálas, and shelters for their *chélás* or disciples. Their clothing consists principally of cottons; but, inconsistently enough, they sometimes possess articles of silk, the connexion of which with the destruction of silk-worms or moths they do not seem distinctly to realize. They wear cloth shoes. Each of them carries with him an *Oghá*, or besom, to clear the seats of insects or other living creatures when they are about to sit down or approach the shrines of their idols, and a *mohomati'* or mouth-veil, to prevent insects from entering their mouths and throats when they are saying their prayers. Tenderness to life, even in its minutest forms, is what they most attend to. In conformity with the tenets already referred to, they teach that all life, however diffused in the universe, is uncreated; and that the material in which it is encased is also uncreated. They make no essential distinction between life in vegetables, worms, insects, fishes, birds, serpents, beasts, men, and superior beings, essentially considered, though they have the vital principle in different degrees. They deny the existence of a Creator and an active Providence. With them *Svabháva*, "nature," is everything, while *Is'hvaronásti*, "There is no operative Lord," is their deliberate doctrine. I once asked a learned member of their community, in the presence of the Rev. Drs. Duff and Glasgow, if he had no scruple in making the latter announcement to his pupils. His answer was:—"We generally postpone it till the third year of their discipleship." I have heard a young Jaina student, whose intelligence and conscience repelled the doctrine, with the greatest distress of mind exclaim for hours *Parame'shvara ché, Parame'shvara ché!*—"There is a Supreme Lord, there is a Supreme Lord!" In 1864, when seeking to console a benevolent Jaina banker, who, owing to the mad speculation in Bombay of that and the preceding year, was involved in temporary ruin, I said to him "Were you a believer in Providence, I could make an important suggestion to you." He immediately replied, "I do believe in *Is'hvara*, though I have been taught otherwise." I then said to him, "Concur with the teachings of that Providence and moral government: and 'set your affections on things which are above and not on things which are below'." I refer to these instances of conversation with the Jainas as illustrations of the fact that their religious opinions and feelings are often different from those imposed upon them by their teachers. I have to add that some of these teachers are bold enough to challenge the theists (*Is'hvaravádi'*) of the whole world to discussion, as was the case with a Jati in the territories of H. H. the Begum of Bhopál, whose defiant circular was forwarded to me many years ago by the late accomplished Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson, of the Bombay Civil Service, whose comparatively early death was a great loss to Government and Oriental literature. The contention of this belligerent Jaina was this in substance, that "the conscious possession and rational exercise of power is such a degradation of deity, even in thought (when such a being is supposed to exist), that it cannot be acknowledged even in thesis." A challenge from a denier of either a logical basis or a logical process founded on inference was not accepted, though the Bráhmans in his neighbourhood might have gone to issue with him in other

circumstances. Paganism was said by a Father of the Christian Church, Gregory of Nyssa, to have had its strength in intellectualism; but this has not been the case with Jainism, which rests more on its extravagant legends than on any depth or plausibility of its metaphysical speculations. Of a celebrated Jaina lecturer, Ratnavijaya Maharáj of Márwár, who attracted much attention in Bombay in 1864, I thus then wrote:—"Here we have a religious doctor who finds no room in the universe for a Creator and God of Providence, but resolves every object that exists and every appearance that is manifested into mere Nature and growth, and who at the same time holds that the chief good of man is to be found in the extinction [or utter quiescence] of the spirit, actually securing the wonderment, homage, and reverence of his male and female audience by his narrations and expositions of legends far beyond the acceptance, as we should think, of human belief. He does not awaken, agitate and convince his disciples by speculative inquiry, or philosophical research, or doctrinal averment; but by extravagant myths respecting the labours and strivings of Mahávira, the great Jina, seeks to lead his followers to get rid of the inconveniences and woes of material incorporation and this by arbitrary and empirical precepts and ordinances, delivered for the attainment of that end, in the case of all his followers."\* Similar remarks I might make on the teachings of most of the Jaina doctrines in India, to which Jainism is confined, though Buddhism still exists in all the great neighbouring countries of the East.

The chief devotee of the Jainas is denominated Sthávira or *Shrī Pújya* Sthávira or *Shrī Pújya*. "His Exalted Worship." He is viewed by them much as a "Supreme Pontiff." Lists of the personages said to have held this office from the time of Mahávira to the present day are usually attached to the manuscripts of the Kalpa Sūtra. They meet with much reverence both from Jatis and Shrávakas.

The word *Shrāvaka*, applied to the Jainas who are not *Yatis* or Wandering Mendicants or Devotees, Instructors and Ministers, is derived from the root *Shru* "to hear." The noun is always used in a causal sense, as equivalent to a speaker, addresser or petitioner. Thus in a manuscript in my possession, entitled the *Chaitya Vandana*, or the Praise (used in) the Chaitya, runs in these words:—*Hivé Jina pratimá ágal Shrāvaka Shrāvaká Chaityavanda Karai*:—"In this way before the image let the Shrāvaka make the *Shrāvaká* for the *Chaityavandana* (or utterance of praise in the Chaitya)." Praise and celebration of excellence are more accordant with the metaphysical principles of the Jainas than petition; but practically the Tirthankaras and other ideal objects of recognition of the Jainas are treated by the Shrávakas as if they were both the hearers and answerers of prayer, although it be held respecting them that they have obtained absolute nirvána. A translation of a Jaina hymn, made from the Gujarátí by the Reverend Doctor James Glasgow, appears in the *Oriental Christian Spectator* for January 1845. It is addressed to Párshvanátha. A few lines from it may be here advantageously inserted as illustrative of the popular worship of the Jainas:—

\* Of this Jaina doctor and his excited audience an interesting photograph, taken by the instantaneous process, was published in the Indian Amateur's Photographic Album, Oct, 1858, by Mr. W. Johnson, then of the Bombay Secretariate.

Victory, victory belongs to Pārshvanátha, lord of the world.  
 Joy has arisen from the sight of thee ;  
 Horses, armies, fine garments are from the sight of thee.  
 I serve the lord of the world,—bowing at his feet,—  
 Always wise, powerful, beautiful, and good.  
 By seeing thy beauty, I am saved from the world.  
 Thou hast earrings [shaped like ? ] like the sun and moon.  
 Thy glory (renown ? ) reverberates through the circle of the earth,  
 For thy name no difficulty will ever come.  
 Who with much trust serves thee,  
 The house of nine treasures shall be his.  
 Thou art the support of the weak.  
 Thou receivest into refuge those who have no refuge.  
 May dancers, jugglers, and wantons keep far from thee.  
 By thy worship thou becamest Bhagaván (the worshipful one).  
 May witches and enchantresses be vanquished.  
 To thy name may the great Mléichas bow.  
 May all kings obey thy name.  
 By thy name much wealth is received.  
 Victory to the light of the world, the master of the three worlds.  
 Thou givest the power of becoming a Jina.  
 At serpents, wolves, and enchanter thou canst aim.  
 By worshipping in thy way there is victory.  
 By worshipping thee all diseases are healed.  
 By hearing the commemorations of thee we become holy.

Some parts of the hymn, which I have omitted, seem more calculated to kindle inordinate desire than to restrain or quench it according to the profession of the Jainas. It may be truthfully said that, notwithstanding the effort of its zealous propagandists, the Jaina religion (like other systems of the East) is now in a state of solution, of the compounded product or extract of which no man can prognosticate.\*

The practical doctrines which the learned Jainas of all classes are most anxious to conserve are those which pertain to the *Avaranas* or smotherings of the temptations which are hostile to *moksha* or “liberation,” which are the following :—

1. *Jnánávarāna*, the smothering the pride of knowledge, of five varieties.
2. *Darshanávarāna*, the smothering of the pride arising from the contemplation of the examples of the Jaina saints.
3. *Vedaníyávarāna*, the smothering of self-sufficiency, of two varieties.
4. *Mohaníyávarāna*, of the smothering of (fleshy) delusion, of twenty varieties.
5. *Ayushyávarāna*, the smothering of the attachment to “life” or age, of four varieties.

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\* With this expression of opinion the Reverend Robert Montgomery of Surat, who has had much intercourse with the Jainas of Gujarát, fully concurs.

6. *Namávarana*, the smothering of the attachment to name or reputation, of one hundred and three varieties.
7. *Gotrávarana*, the destruction of the attachment to lineage, of two varieties.
8. *Antaráyávarana*, the smothering of emulation with others seeking *moksha*, of two varieties.

This translation I make from a MS. furnished to me by the Samvégi Sadhuji Shrícharitra Pradhána Svámí. It may be compared with those of Colebrook and H. H. Wilson, from both of whose renderings it differs in one or two items as they differ from one another. The object denominated in each of the *Avaranas*, he says, must be *sarva ghátí*, "all wholly destroyed."

The following are the Nine Tatvas or Categories recognized by the Jainas as connected with present action and final emancipation:—*Jiva*, 'vitality'; *Ajiva*, 'non-vitality'; *Punyam*, 'purity or merit'; *Pápa*, 'sin' or 'demerit'; *A'shrava*, 'perception of inclination, and attraction to external objects'; *Sancara*, 'self-command,' in opposition to *A'shrava*; *Nirjava*, 'mortification' of sensuous and sensational tendencies and actings; and *Moksha*, 'final liberation' from all attraction and distraction. These are the headings in the Jaina work entitled the 'Nava Tatva,' translated as literally as their technicalities admit. This *moksha*, the *summum bonum* of the Jainas and of their predecessors, the Buddhas, seems to have struck the attention of Dr. Livingstone, who, in his last journals, alludes to "the Grand Llama, sitting on the immoveable contemplation of nothing," in contrast to "Jesus, the manifestation of the blessed God over all, as minute in his care of all." But we have to deal with the Jainas at present principally in their social aspects—their position with regard to human society.

The literature of the Jainas is very extensive and curious, though scarcely to be compared in these respects with that of the Bráhmañists. One department of it, however, excels, in an historical and biographical point of view, that of the Hindus. I refer to the *Charytas* or Memorial narratives—not indeed those pertaining to the Tirthankaras, or supposed sacred objects of recognition, who are treated of in a style of boundless exaggeration; but those referring to such ruling princes as Kumára Pála of Gujarát and others in like position, and of which Colonel Tod and Mr. Kinlock Forbes have so advantageously taken advantage. Their *Mahátmyas*, or celebrations of their principal shrines, afford glimpses of valuable information about their tenets and religious establishments, which are not to be despised. The most important of these is the *Shatrúnjaya Mahátmya*, which has been so ably edited and illustrated by Professor Weber of Berlin. Shatrúnjaya, which is near Pálitáná, about thirty-five miles from Gogho, is one of the three sacred mounts of the Jainas in Western India, the others being those of *Girnar* (from S. *Girnaqar*) sacred among the Buddhists of old, and the other that of *A'bu*, formerly sacred among the Bráhmañists, as indicated by its name *Arbudha Mátá*. The buildings (*apásrás*, *dharmashálás*, etc.,) which have been erected at all these places are remarkable in an architectural point of view, as well illustrated by the drawings, engravings, and photographs which have been made of them, especially the photographs which have been executed under the direction of Mr. James Burgess, who is so

busily and successfully engaged in the survey and delineation under Government of the antiquarian remains of Western India. The *Savas* or gatherings of numerous pilgrims at these shrines, take place principally in the dry seasons of the year. The ordinary public services of the Jainas at other times in the North principally take place in their city *apásrás* in Rajputáná and Gujarát and Kachh, and to a small extent in Sindh, and in smaller erections in the Southern Maráthá Country and Kánara, where here and there Jainas are located. The fasting season of the Jainas, to which Dr. Stevenson was the first to direct the particular attention of Europeans, occurs in the rains. The Northern and Southern Jainas have comparatively little intercourse with one another, and the streams of the fluxion of Jainism into its present localities must have been various. Those in the South principally belong to the *Digambaras* sect (so called from their concept of their original devotees as being merely "clothed-with-the-sky," or nudities). Those in the North belong almost altogether to the *Svetámbara* sect, whose primitive sages are supposed to have arrayed themselves in white vestments. There are many divisions

Digambaras and Svetámbaras. in both these sects, there being no fewer than thirteen *Pauthís* in the former, while in the latter there are a score, as I have been informed

by the Pradhána Svámí, whose name I have already mentioned. The *Dhundhyas*, who as "Men-of-Search" have altogether discarded idols, have

Dhundhyas.

Bhikshanapauthí.

are recognized among the Jainas under the designations of *Tapagachchhas* and *Lakagachchhas*, as the *Devasúra*, *Anasúra*, *Vímala* (known as the builder of the famous temples at Abu), *Vudíposala*, *Lodíposála*, *Achala*, *Nāgorí*, *Gujarátí*, *Chanavíkhají*, *Pámchanda*, *Vijaya*, *Punáníya*, *Kadala*. Some of these Gachchhas, which belong principally to Gujarat and Rajputáná, obviously get their denominations from personages or localities. Others, as the *Kharatara Gachchha* and *Achára Gachchha*, *Tapáchára*, etc., are founded on profession and practice.

*Vímala* (known as the builder of the famous temples at Abu), *Vudíposala*, *Lodíposála*, *Achala*, *Nāgorí*, *Gujarátí*, *Chanavíkhají*, *Pámchanda*, *Vijaya*, *Punáníya*, *Kadala*. Some of these Gachchhas, which belong principally to Gujarat and Rajputáná, obviously get their denominations from personages or localities. Others, as the *Kharatara Gachchha* and *Achára Gachchha*, *Tapáchára*, etc., are founded on profession and practice.

Of all Jainas the strictest zealots are the *Dhundhyas*. When I first came

The Dhundhyas.

in contact with them (in Káthiáwád in 1835), I recorded the following note respecting them, founded on the information given to me by one of their sect: "They are stricter than the other Jainas. Though they reverse the twenty-four Tirthankaras, their *apásrás* have neither images nor pictures. They teach that the essence of religion consists in the observance by *Shrávakas* of the four *dharma-márgas* (religious ways): *dána* (the giving of largesses in charity), *shíla* (upright conduct), *tapá* (austerities), and *bháváná* (faith); and by *Gatis* of the eight *Karmas* (works), viz. *náyávrithi* (exercise of compassion), *strítýága* (celebacy), *jívyakarma* (government of the tongue), *agnikarma* ([used negatively], abstinence from the use of fire for cooking), *karana-karma*, (refraining from listening to what is evil), *vayukarma* (keeping out of the way of the wind, lest it should blow insects into the mouth), and *gotra-karma* (dissolution of family connections). The Dhundhyas are very numerous in the Surat and Bharoch districts, as well as in Káthiáwád. [They

are also numerous in Northern Gujarát and Rajputáná]. Their confidence in their tenderness to life renders them very conceited. I terminated all disputes on this subject with my friend with the following dialogue :—*J. W.* ‘How many lives are there in a pound of water?’ *Dh.* ‘A countless number.’ *J. W.* ‘How many lives are there in a bullock?’ *Dh.* ‘One.’ *J. W.* ‘You take thousands of lives, then, while the Musalman butcher takes one.’—The Hindus began to laugh and the Dhundhyas joined them. My excellent friend, the late Rev. James Wallace of Gogho, having been attacked in argument by a Jaina on one occasion, thus proceeded with him on the spur of the moment : *W.* ‘What is that hanging by your ear?’ *J.* ‘A pearl.’ *W.* ‘How was it procured?’ *J.* ‘I don’t know.’ *W.* ‘Then, I tell you; it was by opening up a pearl oyster, and killing the animal within it.’ *W.* ‘What is that over your shoulder?’ *J.* ‘It is a silk shawl.’ *W.* ‘The silk having been procured through the murder of silk-producing insects, put to death by boiling water.’ *W.* ‘What is in those small packets on that shelf?’ *J.* ‘Medicines to destroy worms.’ The poor Jaina was confounded, and then had the maxim impressed on his attention, “*Qui facit per alium facit per se.*” It is a fact that among certain classes of Jainas human life is less regarded than that of brutes, birds, and fishes. Some years ago the attempt was made by the hirelings of Jainas to murder some Muhammadan fishermen for exercising their calling in their neighbourhood. Indeed, it is said that two men were murdered in consequence of the combination here referred to.

The Jainas are generally derived from all grades of the Natives except those, like agriculturists and those below them, whose occupations imply the destruction of worms and other insects. In North-Western India they are principally drawn from the mercantile classes. Many of them are rich bankers and money-lenders. They treat these *Shri Pujyas* with great respect, and often place large sums of money at their disposal. They often frankly unite with Europeans in contributions for the relief of distress and other public objects. The late Dr. Bhau Daji had great influence over them in this direction. It is a curious fact that Vaishnavas intermarry with them, and vice-versa, the wife assuming the religion of the husband. The marriage ceremony is on these occasions performed by Bráhmans. Their religious scrupulosities are but little associated with moral feeling, as is not to be wondered at when their peculiar tenets are taken into account.

On the tenets, practices, observances, and general history of Jainism’ much light has been thrown by Lassen in his work “*Alterthumskunde Indien*”, who has analysed and applied all the accounts of it which had been published before that masterly and invaluable work appeared. The questions pertaining to the origin of Jainism as a special system of faith and practice are anew being treated by the learned Professor Weber. There can be little doubt that its birthplace, provincially considered, was much the same as that of Buddhism, in the Gangetic provinces to the East. It is most natural to suppose that when it came to the West it was by the course of the Nermadá and by Raputáná, for the Southern Jainas have, even to this day, but little communion with the Jainas of the North. The word *Shatrunjaya*, by which the sacred mount referred to above is denominated, is but a synonym of *Arihantá*, applied to the Tírthankars; and of its present *Mahátmya*, it is said, has been “abridged from a former work on the same

subject by Shrí Dhaneshvara Suri, in the renowned city of Valabhí, at the order of Samáshtrás Plord, Shíládetya" [III ?].\* This would bring it to about the end of the first quarter of the sixth century A.C. Between the date of the earliest of the Gírnára Buddhist tablets (3rd cent. A.C.), and that now referred to, there was time for the modifications and changes introduced by Jainism. Yet it was Buddhism and not Jainism, I think, which was rampant at Valabhí when it was visited in A.D. 641 by Hiouen Tshang, the last of the Chinese travellers whose narrative has been translated by M. Julien. Jainism, it is obvious however, must have been at work in the peninsula of Sanvashtra for a considerable time before the conversion to it of Kumar Pála, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1143, and reigned 33 years. Light on the chronology of Jainism in the West of India may be expected to be thrown by the manuscripts collected by Dr. Bühler during his fruitful journeys in Gujarát and Rajputáná, which were undertaken for the Bombay Government, encouraged as it was by the success of Dr. Haug in Gujarát on a former occasion. It is to the credit of some of the more learned Jatis that they have not confined their attention to their own literature. Several of their *Koshas* (vocabularies of Sanskrit Synonyms, etc.), as that of Hemachandra, are valuable. I have occasionally been presented by them with manuscripts of their own composition, one of which evinces a tolerable acquaintance with the Schools of Indian Philosophy. In search for Jaina manuscripts and documents the Karnatak is not to be overlooked, especially after the great discoveries of Sir Walter Elliot, and the translations and notes of Dr. Bhau Daji and Mr. J. F. Fleet, C.S., published in the late Nos. of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

### *The Shunyavádís.*

*The Shunyavádís* have been supposed to be ultimate atheists like the *Bauddhas, Jainas* and ancient *Charvákas* and *Nástikas*. It is a fact that *de nomine* they resolve every apparent or alleged existence into *shunya* or absolute vacuity. The only specimens of their writings which I have seen is the single one furnished by Professor H. H. Wilson in his "Religious Sects of the Hindus." Inconsistently enough, the doctrines of pantheism, atheism, and nihility there conjointly appear. I have met with only one keen controversialist in the Bombay Presidency, who assimilated his contentions to those of the *Shunyavádís*. The shifting of his positions from one to another of these sophisms was a marked peculiarity in the discussions into which he sought to enter, to the great alarm of his relatives, (occupying a good position in the Native community) who asked my assistance in their attempts to rectify his opinions. Since the death of Dayáráma, the Rájá of Hatras, whose fort was destroyed by the Marquis of Hastings, the *Shunyavádí* sect seems itself to have gone to *Shunya*, to 'nought.' I allude to the fact, for the purpose of chopping logic that individual professed *Shunyavádís* enter the arena of discussion. In the instance to which I have referred above, my controversial friend sought to strengthen his cause by referring to what is esteemed the orthodox doctrine of the Hindus, as to the state in which deity is found at the commune of a great *Kalpa*, a *nirjuna*, without qualities and so small in discussions as to be impenetrable by a needle's point.

\* Kinloch Forbes' *Rás Málá*, vol. i., p. q.

*Ordinary Bráhmán Bhikshukas or Mendicants.*

According to the Shástras or law-books of the Hindus all Bráhmans are entitled to receive *bhikshú* (alms) and *dána* (largesses), to the dispensation and reception of which great merit is attributed. This is not solely because of priestly services rendered by them, but because of their exalted and sacred position in caste. The majority of Bráhmans in the North-West of India, indeed, have no shame in denominating themselves *Bhikshukas*, not because in all cases they seek their livelihood by mendicity, but because on certain occasions and circumstances (as those for example of births, marriages, deaths, celebrations, enthronements and visits of great and distinguished men, *Jatrás* or religious gatherings and fairs, etc.,) they are willing to receive alms. In the Maráthá Country, the Bráhmans who are not denominated *Bhikshukas* call themselves *Pantas*—a name which, though a contraction from *pandit*, is used by them as their denomination

as secularized Bráhmans. Service under Government or in private concerns, agencies, and establishments, is what they greatly desiderate. In our cities and towns they not unfrequently engage in the enterprizes pursued by other castes and classes of the Hindus, but eschewing manual labour, except with the pen, as far as they are permitted by the necessity of finding a livelihood. In employment they often leave the places of their nativity and their family fields (or *watans*); but in the proper sense of the term they can scarcely be spoken of as Wanderers. It is otherwise with the *Bhikshukas*. Great numbers of them wander about from village to village, from city to city, and from province to province. Many of them in the Maráthá Country are very quiet and respectful in their solicitations, especially for help in the education of their sons; but this can scarcely be said of many from other provinces. They depend a good deal on the liberality of the mercantile community. I have seen a variegated group of expectants assail a Native prince of distinguished liberality for *dánam* ('donum'), and when it was not convenient for him at the time to comply with their wishes, exclaim, "Take care, take care, we are BRAHMANS! We know how to deal with the stingy." His Highness, while ashamed of their unseasonable importunity and impudence, very properly did not then promise to comply with their wishes.

*Tírthavúlá Bráhmán Mendicants and Servitors.*

The sacred *Tírthas* (literally 'fords' or 'crossings') of the Hindus are generally found at the passages, sources and confluences of the notable rivers, ocean-shores, hot-springs, *javálamukhís* (outbursts of gaseous fires) of the country, especially those which make their appearance by name in the earlier Indian literature, in connexion with the progress of the A'zyas from north to south and east to west, as they spread over the great country, now called India, from the river Indus (or *Síndhah* of the Veda). Many of these *tírthas* are mentioned in the Mahábhárata, Rámáyana, and Puráñas; but of these we have specially now to refer only to those which are found in, or are contiguous to, the Bombay Presidency.

Passing over the Tirthas of the Punjab (which fall elsewhere to be noticed) we have examples of these religiously-frequented places on the Indus and in Sindh, at Multán, Sakar-Bakar and Sehwan on the great river; at Hingláy, near the mud-volcanoes (the Ultima Thule of internal Indian pilgrimage), and at Náráyan Sorawar, about forty kos from Karáchí. In Kachh we have them

In Sindh.

at Mada, where are found the smoking mines, from which alum is extracted, and by solution is made ready for purposes of commerce; Goraknath, where stay the Kanphati Yogis; while in the Gulf of Kachh, contiguous to the Coast of Káthiawád, we have the 'holy' island of Bet with its many temples of great repute, especially among the sensuous Vallabhácháryas of Western India and devotees in general.\* Contiguous to it on the mainland of Okámandal we have the Avamva, where the Vaishnava pilgrims are stamped with red-hot iron; the celebrated Dváraká, which but ill fits in with the inventions of the legends appertaining to Krishna and his fugitive attendants; and Posutra, in the same small peninsula whence his Gopís are said to have been supplied with what is now called *Gopíchandan*, "the sandalwood of the Gopís," though but humble clay fit for adorning the Khákí devotees.† Proceeding down the Western Coast of Káthiawád, we have Porbandar, supposed to be the imaginary town Sudámapur, the city which was transmogrified by Krishna from being a small village into a city of gold, to gratify his friend Sudáma. About 16 kos from Porbandar is Mádhavapuri, with its image of Mula Mádhava, a form of Krishna. Striking to the south-east for a six days' journey, we arrive at Junágadh (the old fort). We have unequivocal Buddhist remains in its upper Kot, and between it and Girnár, we have the most valuable rock-tablets, engraved in early Buddhist times with the iron pen, which have yet been discovered in this great country. The famous Girnár (S. *Girinagara*) mount is now approached. On the road to it we here and there pass establishments of devotees of various sects and schools. The steep ascent before the pilgrim is very difficult; but with the help of *dulis* and their sure-footed and elastic bearers, it is surmounted to a height of little less than 3,000 feet. Here on the shoulder of the mount with its precipitous scarps, we find numerous Jaina temples, filled with numerous images, especially of the Tirthankars, the most remarkable of which here are those of Rishabhadéva, Néminatha, and Párshanátha. These temples are striking specimens in their forms of the best mountain architecture. Not so much can be said for the Hindu temples which occupy the pinnacles of the mountain at a height of about some 600 feet above them, though one or two of them may have been appropriations from the Buddhists or Jainas. His Highness the kind and considerate Nawáb of Junágadh practises no iconoclasm. Saluting him on return from our aerial journey, we pass to the south *per saltum et volatum* to the southern shore of the peninsula, where we find Prabhása Pattana, so named in the Mahábhárata, and a more modern temple of Shiva, which is better known as the temple of Mahammad of Ghazni, which is about a kos distant from

In Kachh.

At Bet.

Vallabhácháryas of Western India and devotees in general.\* Contiguous to it on the mainland of Okámandal we have the Avamva, where the Vaishnava pilgrims are stamped with red-hot iron; the celebrated Dváraká, which but ill fits in with the inventions of the legends appertaining to Krishna and his fugitive attendants; and Posutra, in the same small peninsula whence his Gopís are said to have been supplied with what is now called *Gopíchandan*, "the sandalwood of the Gopís," though but humble clay fit for adorning the Khákí devotees.† Proceeding down the Western Coast of Káthiawád, we have Porbandar, supposed to be the imaginary town Sudámapur, the city which was transmogrified by Krishna from being a small village into a city of gold, to gratify his friend Sudáma. About 16 kos from Porbandar is Mádhavapuri, with its image of Mula Mádhava, a form of Krishna. Striking to the south-east for a six days' journey, we arrive at Junágadh (the old fort). We have unequivocal Buddhist remains in its upper Kot, and between it and Girnár, we have the most valuable rock-tablets, engraved in early Buddhist times with the iron pen, which have yet been discovered in this great country. The famous Girnár (S. *Girinagara*) mount is now approached. On the road to it we here and there pass establishments of devotees of various sects and schools. The steep ascent before the pilgrim is very difficult; but with the help of *dulis* and their sure-footed and elastic bearers, it is surmounted to a height of little less than 3,000 feet. Here on the shoulder of the mount with its precipitous scarps, we find numerous Jaina temples, filled with numerous images, especially of the Tirthankars, the most remarkable of which here are those of Rishabhadéva, Néminatha, and Párshanátha. These temples are striking specimens in their forms of the best mountain architecture. Not so much can be said for the Hindu temples which occupy the pinnacles of the mountain at a height of about some 600 feet above them, though one or two of them may have been appropriations from the Buddhists or Jainas. His Highness the kind and considerate Nawáb of Junágadh practises no iconoclasm. Saluting him on return from our aerial journey, we pass to the south *per saltum et volatum* to the southern shore of the peninsula, where we find Prabhása Pattana, so named in the Mahábhárata, and a more modern temple of Shiva, which is better known as the temple of Mahammad of Ghazni, which is about a kos distant from

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\* See before p. 27.

† See before p. 27.

the port of Verával Pattan. There are places in the neighbourhood of these localities sacred to Krishna as well as to Shiva. Krishna, indeed, is said to have expired in this locality; but no reliable authority is in this case produceable. Two other tirthas in this peninsula remain to be noticed. One of these is the famous hill of Shatrunjaya, already referred to in connection with the Jainas. The other is that of Tháná, about 35 miles east of Rájkot, where there is an image of the Sun drawn in his chariot, much frequented by the Scythian tribe of Káthis, from which the peninsula receives

In Continental Gujarát. its modern name. In Continental Gujarát, both north and south, we have nearly as many tirthas as in the peninsula. Mount Abu, or Arbudha Mátá,—on its northern boundary and famous for its wonderful temples,—is largely frequented both by Jainas and Bráhmanists. Siddhapur, on the western Banása (*S. Venáshan*), may be spoken of as the religious capital of Gujarát, and is largely frequented both by devotees and pilgrims. Still more so is Dhákor, in the Collectorate of Kaira (Khéda) which, of comparatively late times, is held to be a convenient substitute for the Dváraká of Okámandal assigned to the god Ranchoda, alias Krishna.\* Cambay (*Khambát*) at the head of the gulf so named, is visited by many pilgrims, though it is not mentioned as a tirtha in olden books. The remaining great tirthas of Gujarát are on the banks of the large rivers—the Nabadá (*Narmandá*) and the Táptí. The town of Broach on the former (*Bhriyukshetram* or *Brigakaccha*) is a tirtha itself; but more so is the locality further up the river, called Sukal-Tirtha, where great Jatras are often held, especially one every twelve years, and also at the great and celebrated Vada (*ficus India*), which covers two or three acres. Tirthas are found at intervals on the Nabadá of considerable distance, however, from one another till it is traced to its source at Amarkantak in the Central Provinces. Near the mouth of the Táptí we have that of Bhi-mapura, and at a little distance from it that of Siddhanátha on the coast between Surat and Domas. The temple of the Ashvini-Kumara is about two miles up the river from Surat. At Bodána, twelve miles from Surat there is a great gathering every twelve years. Other tirthas are not wanting till the source of the river is reached on the plateau of Multáyi in the Central Provinces. At Unái, about twelve miles from Surat and situated in the jungle between Bansda and Bohari Coast, is a hot spring recognized by the Unávala Bráhmans (who derive from it one of the designations by which they are known), which is resorted to both by pilgrims and sufferers by

In the Konkan. disease. In the Northern and Southern Konkans, generally intermediate between the Gháts and the sea, there are tirthas of the same character and repute; as at Wajarabái in the bed of a river, a few miles from Bhivandi, on the margin of the south side of the river Sávitri near Dasgáum, in the neighbourhood of, and at the distance of a mile from, the well-known town of Rájápur.† In connexion

\* About six centuries ago, as mentioned by Captain MacMurdo, and admitted by all here with whom we have conversed, the valued image of the god Ranchoda, by a manœuvre of the priests, was conveyed to Dhakor in Gujarát, where it still remains. After much trouble the *prána* (life) of the image fled to Beta on the approach of the Musalmans. Nootes (by the author) at Dwáraká, 1835.

† NOTE.—See on these and other thermal springs in the Konkan paper by Surgeon A. Duncan, Vol. 1. of Transactions of Medical Physical Society of Bombay.

with these tirthas, at thermal springs, reference may be here made to the intermittent springs (as that of the Ganésa Pula, about a march north of Ratnágiri), which are represented as miraculous visitations of the Ganges and attract the visits of many. Of ordinary tirthas in the Konkan may be mentioned Nirrnala in the northern province, represented as the place of the death of the great Shankaráchárya; and in the southern, Sangameshwar and Chipaluna, where the Chitapávana Bráhmans were probably first consociated together, though certainly not according to the absurd narrative of the Sahyadri Khanda. On the island of Bombay, the most celebrated tirtha is

In Bombay.

that of Válukéshvara, visited by thousands during its festivals and fairs, and frequented by Bráhmans and devotees from many provinces. Leaving the Konkan, we get on to the summits of the Sáhyas and the rivers which flow along the rivers rising from them especially to the south-east. Trayambak (popularly Trimbak) the reputed source of the Godávári, is greatly frequented at its ordinary and extraordinary festivals which attract devotees and pilgrims to it from the distant parts of India. Following down the river, we have Násika (mentioned in Ptolemy's geography), the Varanási ('Benares') of Western India, whose neighbourhood is inventionally associated with Rámá; Toká, Pravara Sangam, and Sayamukha (in immediate contiguity with one another) much patronized by the late Peshwa, his darling the Náná, and Tánta Topyé, whose paternal residence is there forthcoming; and Paithana, a place of historical antiquity, is still much visited by the folks of the Nizam's territory in which it is situated, and those of other provinces. At the source of the Bhimá on the Gháts, 3,500 feet above the level of the sea, there is a tirtha (near a temple consecrated to Bhima-Shankara) at which thousands of Maráthas congregate every year for a few days at the festival of the Shivarátrí. At the confluence of the Bhimá with the Nirá, we have Narsinghpur, a tirtha with some notable temples, especially one dedicated to the half-man half-lion, "avatára," of Vishnu. Next in its course we have the great tirtha of Pandharpur, already referred to, the principal Bráhmans of which denominate themselves Bhimavaras, and attract many thousands of pilgrims independently of the religious Vánakari devotees of Vithoba, to whom reference has already been made.\* At the reputed source of the Krishna,† the tirtha of Mahableshwar occurs, which has been well described by the Honourable Vishvanath Narayan Mándlik; Wáí, farther down the river, is a tirtha, much fostered by the late warrior Bráhman Chiefs the Konkani Rástiás, and fictionally held forth as in the centre of the Wáirat of the Pandavas, to whom also are dedicated the adjoining forts of Pandugarh and Wairátgarh. At the junction of the Krishna and the Véná, we have Mahulé, where we have the pilgrim temple of Sangameshwar Mahádéva, and Bráhmans of kinds, including some devoted to the Atharva Véda, but rarely met with. Turning back to the affluents of the Bhimá we have on the banks of the Indrávahi, the village of Dehu, rendered famous as the residence of the celebrated popular

\* See before, p. 34.

† There is a more copious and distant source north of 'Arthur's Seat,' the outflow from which with accumulations onward joins the Mahableshwar streamlet.

poet Tukarâma, who never grew weary in the celebration of Vithubá of Pandharpur ;\* and of Alandi, north of Puná, formerly the favourite resort of the poet Inándéva and the other literary members of his family.† At Chinchavad, in the neighbourhood, and near the Railway Station of the same name, is found the "living god," the reputed incarnation of Ganpat, who is not altogether neglected. At Jéjuri, twenty-five miles south of Puná, we have infamous shrines greatly frequented, as will be onward observed. In the Southern Maráthá Country we have several famous tirthás. Karada, at

the junction of the Koyaná and the Krishna has this distinction, as the primary seat of the Kárádé Bráhmans, who derive from it their designation, and perhaps as contiguous to a remarkable series of Buddhist Caves, first brought to notice by Sir Bartle Frere. Kolápur,‡ the capital of the Maráthá State of the same name, on the banks of the Pancha Gangá, has many temples esteemed sacred, and visited by pilgrims and devotees hastening to it from afar, to breathe its fragrant air, and to bathe in its pure waters.

"Her battlemented walls enclose the great Bhavani's shrine,  
And circling round her massive towers, the springs of wealth enshrine ;  
For precious as the golden soil of holy Lanka's grove,  
The goddess Ambabai endowed this city of her love."

And so of many other idols famous in the annals of the Kolápur songsters. South of Kolápur, at about a day's march from Belgaum, is Shankeshwar, where a living being is worshipped as the representative of Shankaráchárya, as well as a consecrated linga. In a hill near Savandati, where the Kanarese language is spoken, is the temple of the goddess Yelama, to which at its annual festival nudities, of both sexes, were till a late period, when Government ended the nuisance, marched from the entrance into the hills all the way to the shrine, and that in the sight of thousands of spectators. Another great shrine where the Kanarese prevails is that of the ancient Gokarna, on the shore of the sea. I have omitted to mention many other minor tirthas in the provinces to which I have referred. The Karnátak is filled with shrines, which have been extolled to the Pleiades by the poets and brought down to Hades by abominations practised at them §.

Now, the Tirthaválá Bráhmans of the West and North-West of India, though perhaps not addicted to the well-known practices of the Gangáputras, Prayagaválás, Gayáválás, etc., etc., on the east of India, have very much to answer for in the degradation, impoverishment, and pollution of millions of the people, who recognize them as their guides and examples. The *Mahátmyas*, or glorifications of the tirthas, which, though prepared in the days of ignorance and oppression, they still circulate and applaud, are full of the grossest exaggerations and the most extravagant fictions, altogether opposed to chronology, geography, history, and the experience and

\* See before, p. 34.

† See before, page 33.

‡ This (and not Kolhápur) is the native name of the town.

§ See, for details, the interesting work on Kolápur of the late Major C. Douglas Graham, pp. 183-85.

capacity of mankind. It is no extravagant assertion to say that millions of the people of India are, in some form or other, yearly put in motion by them as pilgrims to their delusion, demoralization, impoverishment, and exposure to disease and death. When the seasons of pilgrimage are nigh at hand thousands of *Pandas* or solicitors for the tirthas are found wandering about in all directions, repeating their praises and speaking of benefits to be derived from visiting them; in the accumulation of merit, in making atonement for sins even of the deepest dye, in curing mental and moral disease, in finding situations of trust and emolument, in the acquisition of wealth, in the ignorance and destruction of enemies, in securing friends and patrons; in procuring children, and especially sons, to perform the funeral ceremonies of parents, the family prospects of which are not of the most hopeful characters. They offer their services as guides and guardians during the continuance of the needful journeys; and are extortionate in their demands for what is needed by the way. Distant journeys are thus often performed at great expense. On the arrival of the dupes at the 'holy' places, new candidates for their services and favour appear in contentious gangs anxious to obtain their favour. New guides are then procured. They are moved about from shine to shrine, from pool to pool, from river to river, and from consecrated spot to spot. They are shaved and shorn, and have the hair of their heads cast into the streams, under the allegation that blessing in *svarga* will be the consequence from age to age. Fees are demanded of them for the sight (*darshana*) of the gods; and these are often as high as can be procured from the votaries\*. *Kathá* and *Kirtaná* must be attended; and the recitation of the praises of the gods listened to, with or without musical accompaniments. All classes of devotees attract attention; and the solicitations of women consecrated to the gods and of dancing girls leading like them a sinful life are encountered. At many of the tirthas cholera and other diseases are generated, to the destruction of thousands. They are unfathomable cess-pools of moral corruption.

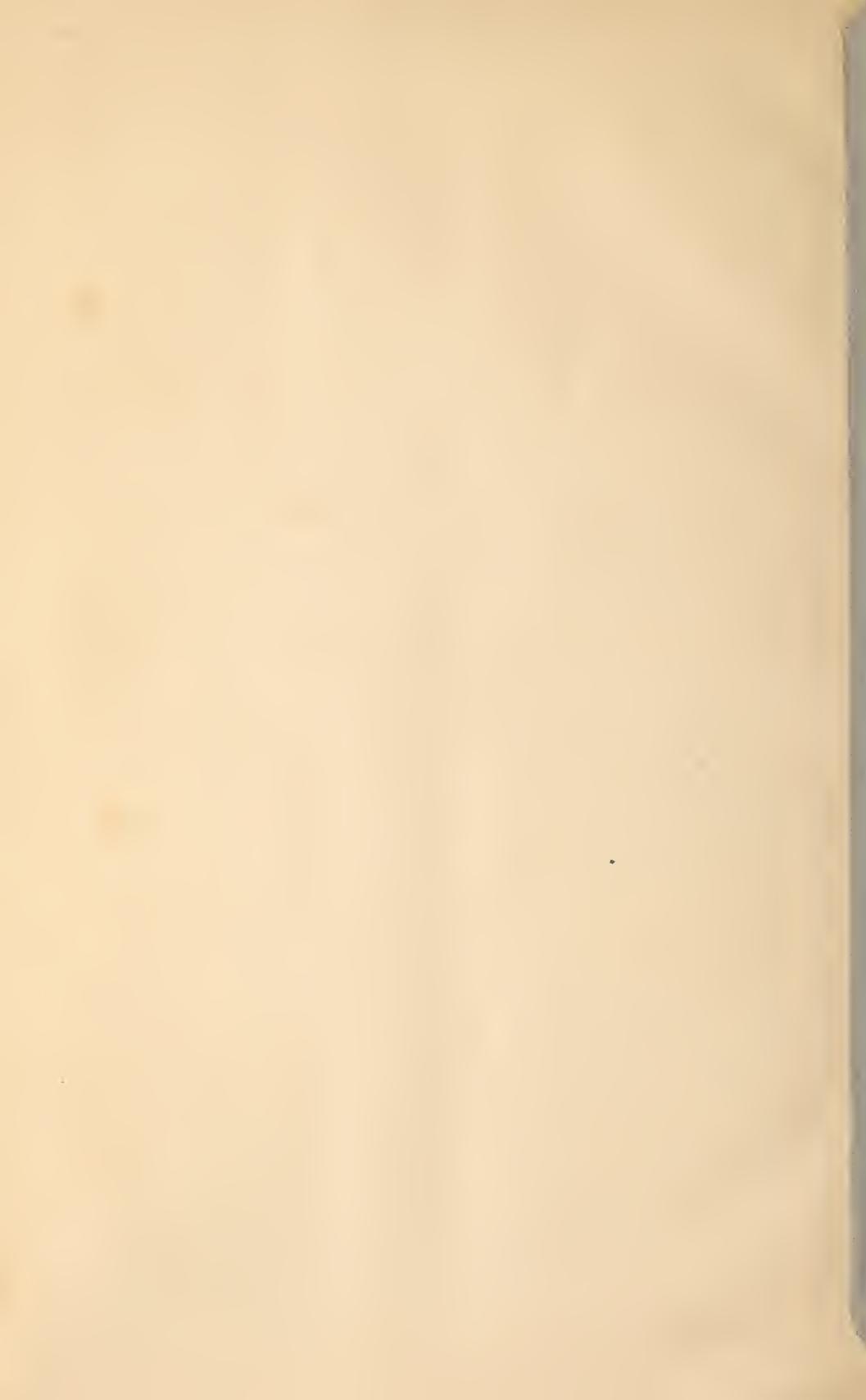
It is pleasing to observe that attendance at the tirthas, "though it is still immensely large, is on the whole diminishing." This is to a good extent owing to the progress of enlightenment and education. Not a few Natives, including liberal Bráhmans, are by no means their patrons.

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\*At Dwáráká in March 1835, I saw a poor man apprehended for having *stolen* the *darshana* of the god Ranchhod. When he could not deny the charge, he pleaded poverty. When the Bráhmans learned that he was a tailor, they sentenced him to six weeks' labour in making and mending their clothes.

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